



T H E
LONDON MAGAZINE.

DECEMBER, 1737.

JOURNAL of the PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES of the *last*
Session of PARLIAMENT, continued from Page 628.



N our last we gave the Substance of the Debate on Sir *J—n B—d*'s Motion for enabling his Majesty to open Books for taking in Subscriptions in *South-Sea* Annuities or Money at 3 *per Cent.* in order to redeem such of the said *South-Sea* Annuitants, as should not agree to accept of that Interest; towards the End of which Debate *T—s W—n*, Esq; stood up, as we then mentioned, (*see Page 628.*) and spoke to the Effect, as follows, *viz.*

Sir, Whether a further Reduction of Interest, natural or legal, may tend towards the Benefit or the Disadvantage of the Nation in general, or whether the natural Interest of Money, lent upon publick Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* are Questions which I shall not at present give you the Trouble of enquiring into; but if both be resolved in the Affirmative, which every Gentleman must do, who is for agreeing to what is now proposed, I can see no Reason for our confining our Resolution, or the Scheme depending thereon, to *South-Sea* Annuities only. For if a further Reduction of Interest must

prove a Benefit to the Nation in general, we ought to extend that Benefit as far as we can suppose it will go; and if the natural Interest of Money upon publick Securities, be below 3 *per Cent.* it is not, in my Opinion, to be questioned, but the other Creditors of the Publick will be as ready to accept of 3 *per Cent.* irredeemable for 14 Years, as the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

For this Reason, Sir, if we come to any Resolution for enabling his Majesty to open such Books of Subscription as have been mentioned, that Resolution ought, I think, to be general; it ought to comprehend all the other publick Creditors, as well as the *South-Sea* Annuitants: But, Sir, there is another very strong Reason for making our Resolution general, which is, that a particular Resolution with respect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants only, will, in my Opinion, be partial, and consequently unjust, let us consider it in what View we please; for that Resolution must be advantageous, or it must be disadvantageous to the *South-Sea* Annuitants: If we look upon it as a Resolution that may be advantageous to them, it will be shewing a Partiality in their Favour, and will consequent-

ly be doing an Injustice to the rest of our Creditors; and on the other Hand, if we look upon it as a Resolution that may be disadvantageous for them, it will then be shewing a Partiality to our other Creditors, and will consequently be a Piece of Injustice done towards the *South-Sea* Annuitants.

From these Considerations, Sir, I think, if we come to any Resolution or Resolutions for redeeming any of our publick Funds, and for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. for that Purpose, we ought to come to a Resolution, to redeem all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, that now carry an Interest at 4 per Cent. per Annum; and then we may come to another Resolution for enabling his Majesty to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. for that Purpose.

These, Sir, are my Sentiments with respect to the Affair now under our Consideration; and if the House seems to approve of them, I shall then rise up and move for such Resolutions, as, I think, we ought to come to, agreeable to these Sentiments.

To this it was answered by Sir J—n B—d and others, in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, There are two Methods of defeating any Scheme or Proposition offered to this House, both of which have been often practised with Success. One is the plain, blunt Way of putting a Negative upon it at once; and the other, which has likewise been practised in former Parliaments, is what we may call a Sort of parliamentary Play, which is, by making such Improvements upon it as must necessarily render it abortive. I am far from thinking the Hon. Gentleman has any such Intention with respect to the Improvement he has now offered; but there is an old and a true Proverb, *Grasp at all, lose all*. We have been told by several Gentlemen in this Debate, that the

Scheme as first proposed would certainly prove impracticable in the Execution; and if there was the least Foundation for such Apprehensions, surely that Foundation must be very much widened, and rendered at the same Time more solid, by the Improvement that has been now offered. Our *South-Sea* Annuities both old and new amount to about 24 Millions, only; all our redeemable Funds bearing an Interest of 4 per Cent. amount to above 44 Millions; and will any Gentleman say, but that it may be easy for the Government to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 24 Millions, as are not willing to accept of that Interest, and yet it may be found very difficult for them to borrow Money at 3 per Cent. sufficient for paying off such of the Proprietors of 44 Millions as may not be willing to accept of that Interest?

If you resolve, Sir, to apply all the Money you can borrow at 3 per Cent. only to the redeeming of such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as will not accept of that Interest, all the Annuitants may be of Opinion, you can borrow as much Money as will be sufficient for that Purpose, which will of Course make all or most of them come in and subscribe their Annuities at that Interest; so that you will have no Occasion for applying any or but very little of the Money you borrow, towards redeeming any of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, and may therefore apply almost the whole Money you borrow, towards redeeming the Proprietors of your other Funds, who will not accept of 3 per Cent. upon any Terms you please to offer; whereas if you make that Resolution general, if you resolve to apply the Money you can borrow at 3 per Cent. towards redeeming the Proprietors of all your Funds which now bear an Interest of 4 per Cent. who will not accept of 3; not only the Proprietors of your other Funds, but even most of

of the *South-Sea* Annuitants may be of Opinion, it will not be in your Power to borrow so much Money at 3 per Cent. as will be near sufficient for that Purpose; and thus the Fear of being redeemed being confined to a very few, you can expect but few Subscriptions in Stock or Annuities at an Interest of 3 per Cent. Thus it appears evident, in my Opinion, that the farther you extend your Scheme, the less Benefit you can expect from it; the more you confine it, the more general and the more certain will your Success be.

However, Sir, as it has been made appear in this Debate, that all our Funds are at an Interest below 3 per Cent. as our 3 per Cent. publick Securities now bear a Premium in *'Change-Alley*; and as the Intention of the Scheme at first was only to afford an Opportunity to those who are willing to lend at 3 per Cent. of having a publick Security for their Money at Par, instead of being obliged to pay a Premium for it in *'Change-Alley*, and to afford an Opportunity to such of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, as are willing to accept of 3 per Cent. for their Money, instead of having 4, and being subjected to the Trouble and Loss of receiving and replacing so much of their Capital yearly, or every other Year; the small Success of the Scheme can be of no Prejudice to the Nation, but on the contrary, the least Success that can be supposed, will be a Benefit; for if but 1 Million in Stock and Money should be subscribed, the Nation will thereby save 10000 L . a Year; therefore rather than not have the Assistance of the Hon. Gentleman who has made you this Proposition, and of his Friends, I shall be for agreeing to the Improvement he has been pleased to propose; but I hope the Hon. Gentleman and his Friends will remember, that the Scheme thus amended becomes properly their own Scheme, and that they will not afterwards endeavour

to put a Negative upon the Scheme they have thus made their own.

The Scheme, even as thus amended, Sir, may turn out to be of signal Advantage to the Nation; but if that be true which has been hinted in this Debate, by some of those Gentlemen who opposed the first Motion, I must confess, the Amendment would be dangerous. It has been insinuated, that all the publick Creditors will join in concerting Measures for defeating the Scheme, that is to say, they will join in concerting Measures for distressing their Country, in order that they may extort a higher Interest from her, than she would otherwise be obliged to pay. This, Sir, is, 'tis true, a Practice too frequent among petty, private Usurers; but I hope none of the Creditors of the Publick will ever deserve such a Name; for if it were possible to suppose them devoid of all Love for their Country, their own Interest must suggest a contrary Behaviour: Their own Prosperity depends upon the Prosperity of their Country; even the Security of their Principal, as well as Interest, depends upon the Prosperity of their Debtor, which can seldom or ever be the Case of private Borrowers and Lenders; therefore, we cannot suppose the Creditors of the Publick will ever join unanimously in concerting any such Measures. But if any such Thing were to be dreaded, they will surely join more unanimously against the Scheme as thus amended, than it can be supposed they would have done against the Scheme as first proposed. When a Nation has been offended by several of her Neighbours, if she declares War against them all at once, she will certainly unite them all together against her, and may probably involve herself in Ruin, instead of obtaining that Reparation which she might easily have obtained, if she had attacked them one after another. The Case is the same: If we resolve to reduce

reduce only a Part of our publick Funds to a lower Interest, the Proprietors of the other Funds not being in the same Circumstances, will never join with them in the same Measures; but if we resolve to reduce them all at once, it brings them all into the same Circumstances, and will, consequently, make them all join in the same Measures. This, I say, Sir, would be the Case, if it could be supposed the Creditors of the Publick would ever join in any Measures for distressing their Country: In that Case we ought to look on them as publick Enemies, and then we ought in good Policy to take all possible Care not to unite them, by attacking them all at once; but I shall never look upon the publick Creditors as publick Enemies, nor shall I ever look upon an Endeavour to borrow Money at a low Interest as an Attack; even upon that Part of them who are by means of that Money to be paid off. Quite otherwise, I shall always look upon the publick Creditors as publick Friends; therefore, I must suppose they will join in Measures for rendering effectual, a Scheme calculated for giving an Ease to their Country, and that the more general the Intention of that Scheme is, the more generally, and the more unanimously, they will contribute towards its Success. This, we ought in Charity to suppose, with regard to the publick Creditors in general, whatever may be the Behaviour of some few of them; and upon this Supposition, I can apprehend no Danger from the Improvement, or rather Enlargement, proposed.

With regard to the Justice and Impartiality of the Scheme, I am surprized, Sir, to hear it questioned by any Gentleman who considers the publick Good, or the different Circumstances of our several publick Creditors. The Scheme, as first proposed, will, in my Opinion, be of great Advantage to all the *South-Sea*

Annuitants. An Annuity of 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, irredeemable for 14 Years, is a Situation which, I am sure, is highly preferable to their present; but this is an Advantage we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant to any of the other publick Creditors, if we can avoid it; it is an Advantage the *South-Sea* Annuitants deserve more than the Generality of our other Creditors; and it is an Advantage which can breed no Confusion among those Annuitants; whereas the granting it to any other Set of publick Creditors might breed great Confusion among them. As to the publick Good, we must consider, that most of our other Creditors enjoy great exclusive Privileges in Trade, by Means of the Debt due to them; and as it may, in a few Years, be found necessary for the publick Good, to destroy, or put an End to that exclusive Privilege, therefore we ought not, for the Sake of publick Good, to grant them an irredeemable Term of 14 Years, if we can possibly avoid it; which we may do, if all the *South-Sea* Annuitants should agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* and great Sums in ready Money should likewise be subscribed at that Interest. From hence every Man must see a good Reason for not granting this Advantage to the other publick Creditors in general; but with respect to the *Bank* in particular, it would be Madness and very great Partiality to grant it to them; because their Term expires in 6 Years, so that it would be granting them a Continuance of their Term for 8 Years, which is worth above 800,000*l.* in present Money, and that for no particular Consideration at all; for the Reduction of Interest from 4, to 3 *per Cent.* is a Consideration granted by the other Creditors, as well as by them, tho' none of the other Creditors are to receive any such Advantage.

Then, Sir, as to the particular Circumstances

circumstances of the *South-Sea* Annuitants, every one knows they enjoy no Advantage or Profit from the Money they have lent to the Publick, but merely that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Publick; whereas the Proprietors of our three great Companies have all along enjoyed, and do still enjoy, the Advantage of an exclusive Trade, by which all of them have made, and two of them do still make a large annual Profit, besides that Annuity or yearly Interest paid them by the Publick; therefore, if any new Advantage is to be granted to any of our publick Creditors, which ought not to be granted to all, if it can be avoided, surely the *South-Sea* Annuitants have the best Title to that new Advantage. And suppose one Half of the *South Sea* Annuitants should agree to accept of 3 per Cent. and the other Half should not; and that the Money Subscriptions should amount to no more than 2, or 3 Millions; in that Case it would be impossible for the Publick to pay off at once, all the Annuitants so standing out; the only Thing that could be done, would be to pay them their 4 per Cent. yearly, and to apply the Sinking Fund towards them only, till they should all be paid off: With respect to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, this might be easily done, by dividing them into four Classes, two of old and new Annuities at 3 per Cent. or if you please you might make but one of both these, and two of old and new Annuities at 4 per Cent. in which Case all future Payments might be applied to the two latter, without breeding any Confusion or causing any Disputes: But, suppose this to be the Case of the Stockholders of our Trading Companies; it would breed great Confusion among them, with regard to the Method of dividing the future Profits of their Trade, and it would cause great Disputes; for the Proprietors of Stock at 4 per Cent.

might insist, they had a Right to a greater Share of the Profits of their Trade, than those at 3 per Cent. especially if it be true that the Annuity paid to these Companies by the Publick, enables them to increase their Trade; and even after the 4 per Cents. were all paid off, they might insist upon their Share of the Profits by Trade, as long as the Company continued; in the same Manner as the present Proprietors of *East-India* Stock might insist upon having their Profits by Trade divided among them, proportionably to their respective Shares, tho' the Debt due to them by the Publick should be all immediately paid off.

From these Observations, Sir, it will appear, that the Favour designed by the Scheme, as first offered, to be shewn particularly to the *South-Sea* Annuitants, proceeds from a Regard for the publick Good, from a Regard for their superior Merit, and from a proper Caution not to breed any Confusion, or Dispute among our other publick Creditors; and can any Gentleman say, that a Favour founded upon such substantial Reasons, is either partial or unjust? Therefore, if we suppose the Scheme advantageous for the *South-Sea* Annuitants, we cannot accuse it of any Partiality or Injustice; and we cannot suppose it disadvantageous to any such Annuitant, because, if he does not like the Terms proposed, he may continue in the same Condition he is in at present; he may continue to enjoy his 4 per Cent. till his Capital be paid off, and I hope no Annuitant expects to enjoy it any longer, or imagines it is doing Injustice to him, to put the Publick in a Way of paying him off sooner.

After what I have said, Sir, it may be supposed, that I am against agreeing to the Amendment or Enlargement proposed; and if I were, it would not be without good Reasons; for

for it is certainly inconsistent with the publick Good to grant a Term of 14 Years irredeemable to any of our Trading Companies, if we could any way avoid it; and, I am sure, it is inconsistent with the publick Good, to make a Present to the Bank of above 800,000*l.* which will be the Case, if we grant them a Prolongation of their Term for eight Years without any Consideration; and, lastly, I cannot think it very consistent with the publick Good to run the Risk of breeding a Confusion and Dispute among any of our publick Creditors: But as my Hopes of Success depend entirely upon the hearty Concurrence of the honourable Gentleman and his Friends, I am for agreeing to what he has been pleased to propose; because the first two Disadvantages must, I find, be submitted to, and the last will, I hope, be prevented, by each of our Companies coming to a Resolution in their respective general Courts, to accept of 3 *per Cent.* upon the Terms offered, by which all Confusion and Dispute among their Proprietors will be prevented; therefore I hope the Hon. Gentleman will again rise up, and move for such Resolutions as may be agreeable to what he has proposed.

This was the Substance of what was said upon this new Topick, and there being no Occasion for any Reply, the following Resolution was moved for and agreed to, *viz.*

‘That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Interest of 4 *per Cent. per Annum*, be redeemed according to the respective Provisoes or Clauses of Redemption contained in the Acts of Parliament for that Purpose, or (with Consent of the Proprietors) be converted into an Interest or Annuity not exceeding 3 *per Cent. per Annum*, not redeemable till after 14 Years.’

In Consequence of this, the following Resolution was moved for and likewise agreed to, *viz.*

‘That it is the Opinion of this Committee, that his Majesty be enabled to borrow from any Person or Persons, Bodies politick or corporate, any Sum or Sums of Money at an Interest not exceeding 3 *per Cent.* to be applied towards redeeming the national Debt.’

On Wednesday, March 30, these Resolutions were reported by Sir Charles Turner to the House; and the first Resolution being read a second Time, and a new Debate arising, a Motion was made for adjourning the further Consideration of the said Report till Thursday, April 14; but upon the Question’s being put, it was carried in the Negative.

Then an Amendment to the Resolution was proposed by G——l W——de, and seconded by W——r P——r, Esq; *viz.* That instead of the Words, *not exceeding 3 per Cent. per Annum*, the Words, *not exceeding 3 and $\frac{1}{2}$ per Cent. per Annum*, should be inserted. Upon which S——l S——s, Esq; took Notice, That the Amendment proposed was such a one as could not be made upon a Report; because it was for a larger Sum annually than what they had agreed to in the Committee; and that therefore, if they had a Mind to allow a higher Interest than 3 *per Cent.* they must recommit the Resolution. Whereupon Mr. P——r said, That, as had before been taken Notice of *, the Affair’s depending in that House had, he found, occasioned so much Gaming in ‘Change-Alley, that if the Amendment he had seconded, could not be agreed to upon the Report, he would be against recommitting; because he was for having the Affair determined some way or other with as great Expedition as possible, in order to put

* By T——s G——re, Esq; upon the Motion for Adjourning.

Stop to that infamous Practice of Stockjobbing.

Nevertheless, a Motion was made for recommitting; but upon the Question's being put, it was, upon a Division, carried in the Negative by 220 to 157.

After which, both the Resolutions were agreed to, and Sir John Barnard, Mr. Wortley, and the Master of the Rolls, were ordered to prepare and bring in a Bill upon the Resolutions so agreed to.

The chief Speakers in these Debates in the Committee and upon the Report, for the Reduction, were, Sir John Barnard, the Master of the Rolls, Edward Whalley Mordaunt, Esq; John Howe, Esq; Thomas Greaves, Esq; Samuel Sturges, Esq; &c. and the chief Speakers against the Reduction were Mr. Ainslie, Peter Bland, Esq; Samuel Hann, Esq; Sir Charles Wray, Greville Wode, Esq; John O'Connell, Esq; Robert Keble, Esq; &c. and Sir Robert Wode, who spoke not so much against the Reduction, as against its being then a proper Time for undertaking such a Scheme.

As soon as this Bill was ordered to be brought in, Sir John Barnard stood up, and after making a short Speech, moved, 'That that House would, as soon as the Interest of all the national redeemable Debt should be reduced to 3l. per Cent. per Annum, take off some of the heavy Taxes, which oppress the Poor and the Manufacturers.'

Upon this Motion there ensued a Debate, in which the Arguments for the Motion were to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, As the Increase, or rather the Revival of our Trade, is one of the chief Ends intended by the Resolutions we have now agreed to, and as the Prosperity of Trade depends as much upon the low Rate of Wages as upon the low Rate of Interest, I shall beg Leave to make you

a Motion for another Resolution, which I take to be a natural Consequence of the two Resolutions we have now agreed to; but before I make you the Motion I intend, I shall take the Liberty to make some Observations upon the Nature of Trade in general; and in the first Place, I must observe, that natural Commodities, however valuable, by which I mean such as are produced without any great Art or Industry of the People, are never of any great Service to a Country, because they maintain no great Number of Subjects, nor enrich many Individuals. The Gold and Silver of the Spanish and Portuguese Settlements in America are Commodities of great Value; but as they are produced by the Labour of Slaves, and enrich only the King and a few great Lords, they have rather diminished than increased the Power and the Riches of both those Kingdoms; the Reason of which is, because they maintain no great Number of industrious Subjects, in which the Power of a Country consists; and the Riches that belong entirely to the King, or to a few great Men, are generally wasted in Luxury and Extravagance, or employed in ambitious Projects, which no way tend to the publick Good of the Country. This prevents the Increase of natural born Subjects, and renders such as they have lazy, idle, and extravagant; so that those very Riches, which are brought in by the Labour of their Slaves, they are every Year obliged to send out, for purchasing the Necessaries of Life, or such Things as are proper for supporting their Luxury.

From hence we may see, Sir, that the only Commodities proper for increasing or supporting the Power and the Riches of a Country, are those which are produced by the Art and Industry of the Inhabitants. The Production or Manufacture, and Sale or Exchange, of such Commodities

is that only which can properly be called Trade; and of such Commodities no Country can have any great Quantity, unless they can sell them cheaper than any of their Neighbours can sell Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness. Now as the original Materials of all such Commodities are to be got by the People of all Countries, at pretty near the same Price, the Difference between the Price of such Commodities when work'd up in one Country, and the Price of them when work'd up in another, must always depend upon the Price of Labour; that is to say, the Wages given to Workmen and Servants; for no such Commodities can be sold so cheap by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are high, as Commodities of the same Kind and Goodness may be sold by the People of a Country where the Wages given to Workmen and Servants are low; but in all Countries the Price of Labour, or the Wages given to Workmen and Servants, must depend upon the Price of those Provisions which are necessary for their convenient Support; I say, Sir, their convenient Support; for even the poorest Workman must and will have some of the Conveniencies of Life; and that Country where the usual Price of Labour can afford the Labourers most of the Conveniencies of Life, will always at last come to have the greatest Number of Workmen, in all Sorts of Trade and Manufacture. A Glut of Business, or a Scarcity of Workmen, may sometimes occasion the Wages of Workmen and Servants to be higher in one Country than another; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life be equal in both, the Workmen will by Degrees leave the Country where Wages are low, and repair to that Country where Wages are high; by which Means the Price of Labour in both Countries will at last be brought upon a Par: This will always be the Case where the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life is the same in both Countries; but if the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life, by Accident or bad Measures, become dearer in one Country than in another, and continue so for some Time, in that Country where such Necessaries and Conveniencies are dearest, the Price of Labour must rise, or their Workmen and Servants will all leave them; for tho' the Desire to live in their native Country may keep them at home for some Time, and may make them chuse to live much more sparingly by their Labour at home, than they could do by the same Labour in another Country, yet some will be every Year deserting, and the more that have deserted, the greater Encouragement will those that remain have to desert; so that the Desertion must necessarily and inevitably at last become general.

This, I say, Sir, will certainly be the Event, if the Price of Labour, or the Wages of Workmen, are not raised in Proportion as the Price of the Necessaries and Conveniencies of Life rises in any Country; and if the Price of Labour be raised higher in one Country than it is in another, we may easily see what will be the necessary Consequence. As the Price of the original Materials of all Sorts of Commodities produced by the Art and Industry of the People, is pretty much the same in all Countries, those Commodities may be sold cheaper by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is cheap, than they can be by the People of that Country where the Price of Labour is dear; the necessary Consequence of which must be, that the former, by underselling, will first beat the latter out of all foreign Markets, and at last even out of their own home Market; for tho' a Country may by severe

severe Laws and high Penalties, for some Time, prevent the Importation of those foreign Commodities which are of the same Nature with their own, yet the Execution of such Laws will at last become so grievous to the People, that it must either be neglected or the Laws repealed; because the People can never be persuaded it is a Crime to buy at the cheapest Hand, nor can they bear to see their fellow Countrymen punished for what they think no Crime: They neither will nor can enquire into the Causes of the Dearnels of such Commodities in their own Country, but will think it proceeds from the Covetousness of those concerned in the Trade; therefore such Laws always have produced, and always will at last produce Murmurs and Insurrections among the People; so that the Government at last will be obliged, for the Sake of Quiet, to let the People buy where they best can; and this Liberty will put a full Stop to any Manufactures that may then be remaining among them.

There are many other Considerations, Sir, which contribute towards rendering Trade more flourishing in one Country than another; such as a happy Constitution of Government, and good Laws and Customs for securing the Liberty and Property of the Subject; a Regard and Esteem shewn by the Laws for Merchants and Tradesmen; a low Rate of the natural Interest of Money; and many others; but this I will say, that of two Countries alike in all other Circumstances, the Trade of that Country will flourish most where the Price of Labour is cheapest, and where they may have the original Materials of those Commodities which are produced by the Art and Industry of the People, at the cheapest Rate. Nay, if there be a Rivalship between them, as to the Production of any such Commodity, we

may depend on it the former will at last beat the other entirely out of the Business. From hence we may see, how ruinous it must be to the Trade of any Country, to lay Taxes upon any Provisions that are necessary for the convenient Support of their Labourers, Manufacturers, or Tradesmen; or upon any of the original Materials of those Commodities, which are produced by the Art and Industry of their People: From hence we must see that the Trade of any such Country must necessarily at last be undone, if their Neighbours be in any Sort of Condition to take Advantage of the Slip they have made: And from hence we must see, how necessary it is for us to take the most effectual and the most immediate Measures for relieving our People, from those Taxes which lie heavy not only upon almost all Sorts of Provisions, but upon almost all Sorts of Materials. We may make Laws against Smuggling, we may make Laws against exporting our Wool, we may make Laws against inveigling our Workmen into foreign Countries: These are but quackish Remedies; if we have a Mind to work a thorough Cure, we must remove the Cause, which certainly proceeds from our many heavy Taxes; for none of our Workmen would go to foreign Countries, if they could live more conveniently by their Labour in this, than they could in any other; none of our Wool would be exported, if it could be wrought up in this Country cheaper than in any other, especially, if by our Treaties we took care to have a free Entry for our Manufactures into every Country; and no foreign Manufacture would be imported upon us, if the prime Cost were higher than the same Sort of Manufacture could be bought for, here at home.

I know, Sir, it has been said our Taxes are no Way insupportable, nor

nor heavier in this Country than they are in *Holland* or *France*; but if those Gentlemen would compare the Taxes and the Methods of raising them in this Country, with the Taxes and Methods of raising them either in *France* or *Holland*, or any other Country of *Europe*, they will find that the Taxes in this Country are more burdensome upon Trade, and the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any Country of *Europe*; insomuch that, if it were not for the natural Advantage we enjoy by means of our Situation, and the many flourishing Plantations we have in the *West-Indies*, and for that artificial Advantage which has been handed down to us from our wise Ancestors, and which, I hope, we shall take care to preserve, I mean the superior Excellence of our Constitution, Laws, and Customs; I say, if it were not for these Advantages, I am convinced, our Trade would already have been entirely lost. These Advantages, especially our Plantations, and the great Exports and Imports we make to and from them, have hitherto preserved our Trade and our Manufactures; but our Plantations will at last fall upon Ways and Means to furnish themselves with foreign Manufactures, or with such as are work'd up among themselves, if they find they can do it at a much cheaper Rate than they can have any such from us; and with respect to our Imports from thence, such as Sugars, Rum, Tobacco, Skins, and the like, we may continue for many Years to supply our home Market with such Commodities from our own Plantations, by Means of prohibitory Laws and high Duties upon foreign Commodities of the same Kind; but if our present high Rate of Interest and high Duties continue, and if the *French* continue to improve their Plantations for Years

to come, as fast as they have done for these *twenty* Years past, I am afraid it may soon be put out of our Power to supply any foreign Market with any even of those Commodities; and if all foreign Markets should be shut up against us, both with respect to our home Manufactures, and with respect to the Produce of our Plantations, our Luxury must either greatly diminish, or we would soon have no Occasion to be afraid of Foreigners drawing our Money away from us, by the Sale of their Property in our Funds; for if they could sell that Property for any Price, which is much to be questioned, they would find no Money in the Kingdom to draw out of it, they would be obliged to take and export our Corn, Cattle, Tin, Lead, or Wool, in lieu of that Property they had so disposed of.

That the Dearness of Provisions, and consequently of Labour, in this Kingdom, does not proceed from Money being more plenty in this Country than in *France* or *Holland*, is evident, Sir, from the natural Rate of Interest between Man and Man being higher in this Country than in either of the other two; and the Dearness of Provisions and Labour, in and about *London*, does not so much proceed from a greater Plenty of Money in and about *London*, as from their Taxes being more numerous, and more heavy, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; for all Taxes are more strictly raised in and about *London* than in any other Part of the Kingdom; and the Inhabitants in and about *London*, even those of the poorest Sort, are subject to two most grievous Taxes, which almost every other Part of the Kingdom is free from: I mean the Tax upon Coals, and upon Ale-Houses by Virtue of the Pot Act, both which fall extremely heavy upon the poor Labourer and Manufacturer,

turer, and must necessarily make both Provisions and Labour much dearer in and about *London*, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; therefore, I hope, these *two* Taxes will be among the first to be taken off; for I must think the Manufacturers and Labourers in and about *London*, if they are not put upon an equal Footing with their foreign Neighbours, they ought at least to be put upon an equal Footing with their domestick Neighbours; especially considering that they will be the greatest Sufferers by the Reduction of the Interest payable upon our publick Funds. But there is another strong Reason for making Labour as cheap as possible in and about *London*, because there are many Sorts of Manufactures which cannot so conveniently be carried on in any Part of the Kingdom as in or near *London*, and all Ships which carry out a Cargoe consisting of a great Variety of Sorts of Goods, properly sorted for the foreign Market to which they are bound, must take their Cargoe and Departure generally from *London*; so that a great Part of our foreign Trade, as long as we have any, must always depend upon our Exports from the Port of *London*; and many of our homeward bound Ships must come to unload the Whole or a Part of their Cargoe at *London*, before they can return to the Port from whence they set out: For which Reason we ought, if possible, to render the Price of Provisions, and consequently the Price of Labour, as cheap at *London*, as it is in any Part of this Kingdom, or in any trading Country in *Europe*; at least, I am sure, we ought neither to impose nor continue any Tax, which must necessarily enhance the Price both of the one and the other.

After having thus shewn the necessary and the fatal Consequences of Taxes upon the Necessaries of Life, or upon the original Materials proper

for any Manufacture, I am convinced every Gentleman that hears me will be of Opinion that, as soon as the Interest payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent. we ought to annihilate some Part of the Sinking Fund, by abolishing some of the heavy Taxes that oppress our poor Labourers and Manufacturers; for that we have some such cannot I think be questioned, after what his present Majesty was pleased to recommend to us from the Throne but a few Years since. And in order to convince all those without Doors that this is our real Intention, we ought, I think, immediately to come to some such Resolution; because it will not only contribute towards the Success of the Scheme we have just now agreed to, but it will likewise contribute towards preventing some of our Workmen from going abroad, who are now perhaps making Preparations for that Purpose, and towards prevailing with some Masters of Manufactures to continue in their Business, who are now perhaps, through Despair, resolving to give it up. When our moneyed Men and other Stockholders see a solemn Resolution of Parliament for abolishing some of our most heavy Taxes, and when they consider the great Benefit that may accrue therefrom to our Trade, and the great Relief it will afford to our poor Labourers and Manufacturers, if they have the least Regard for their Country, they will certainly contribute with the more Alacrity towards the Success of a Scheme, from which so many publick Benefits may be reasonably expected; and even the most selfish Stockholders will find in such a Resolution this Comfort, that if their Revenue be diminished by the Reduction of Interest, their Loss will be in some Measure compensated by the Diminution of their Expence, which will be the necessary Consequence of abolishing any of our heavy Taxes,

not only with regard to those Commodities which are discharged of the Tax, but with regard to all other Sorts of Commodities; for a Tax upon any one of the Necessaries of Life must enhance the Price not only of all the other Necessaries of Life, but likewise of all those Things that are proper either for the Conveniency or the Luxury of Life. Therefore, the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes must necessarily lessen the future Expence of every Family in the Kingdom, especially about *London*, where all Taxes are most strictly raised, and most severely felt; and consequently a Resolution for that Purpose must naturally tend towards making every Man contribute, with the more Alacrity, to the Success of the Scheme we have now agreed to.

Such a Resolution, Sir, will not only contribute to the Success of the Scheme without Doors, but it will likewise contribute greatly to its Success within Doors; for I must confess, I should myself be very indifferent about its Success, either within Doors or without, if I did not think that the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes would be the necessary Consequence of the reducing the Interest payable upon the publick Funds: If the People were to receive no Benefit by such Reduction, if I thought the only Advantage to be reaped thereby, would be the Increase of the Sinking Fund, I should be very little anxious about the Success of the Scheme; because I am now fully convinced, That Fund will never be religiously and regularly applied to the Uses for which it was intended; but will always serve as a Fund for leading the Nation into expensive and unnecessary Projects or Measures; and may hereafter be made use of for rendering successful the most wicked Purposes an ambitious Prince or a guilty Minister can invent or contrive. For this Reason,

I am sure, there are many Gentlemen in both Houses of Parliament, who will be much more sanguine for the passing of the Bill now ordered to be brought in, than they would otherwise be, if they are assured that the Reduction of Interest will be attended with a Diminution of Taxes; and nothing can contribute more towards giving Gentlemen such an Assurance, than a previous Resolution of this House, that as soon as the Interest is reduced, some of our most burdensome Taxes will be abolished; therefore, whatever Gentlemen may pretend, whatever their outward Professions may be, I shall not easily believe they are really and in their Hearts for passing the Bill we have ordered to be brought in, if they are against the Motion I am now to make.

In the Debate, Sir, upon the Resolutions of the Committee it was, I think, made fully appear, that a Reduction of Interest would be a great Advantage to the Nation in general; and as these Resolutions have been agreed to by the House, I must conclude the Majority are of the same Opinion; yet such is the Selfishness of some Men without Doors, who are great Stockholders, and who consequently will be great Losers by what has been agreed to within Doors, that they will not be, or will pretend they are not convinced of what I think is evident at first View. They not only endeavour to convince themselves, but they endeavour to convince others, that the Nation will be no way benefited by what we have resolved on, but that on the contrary most Tradesmen and Artificers will be Losers; and the chief, nay the only Argument they make use of, or indeed can make use of, is, That we have no Design to abolish any of the Taxes, but only to increase the Sinking Fund: Thus say they to Tradesmen and Artificers, you will be no Gainers by this

this Scheme, because you must pay the same Taxes you did before; and as our Revenue is to be lessened, we must contract our Expence, we cannot lay out so much Money with you as we did before, so that you will be Losers, instead of being A Gainers by the Reduction of Interest. This, Sir, is their Argument, and by Means of this Argument they may raise up a Spirit of Discontent among the People; for it is not easy to persuade the Generality of Mankind of the Advantages they may B reap by the Reduction of Interest, unless they be made to feel some immediate Advantage by the abolishing of Taxes; therefore to evade this Argument, and to obviate the pernicious Designs of such selfish Men, we ought now to come to a Resolution, that as soon as the Reduction of Interest takes Place, some of the most heavy Taxes shall certainly be taken off. It will then be easy for any Man, who is a Friend to the Scheme, or to his Country, to shew to every Tradesman, Shopkeeper, D and Labourer, that he must necessarily be a Gainer by the Reduction of Interest; and this will of course reconcile great Numbers of People to the intended Reduction of Interest, and to his Majesty's Government; at least it will put it out of the Power E of those who, from selfish Views, are Enemies to both, to raise any popular Discontent against either the one or the other.

From this Observation, Sir, I must beg Leave to say, that no Man, who is a real Friend to the Scheme, and F to his Majesty and his Government, can, in my Opinion, be against our agreeing to such a Resolution as I have mentioned; for, however much the Affections and good Opinion of the Populace may be despised by some Men, and tho' I do not think a Po- G pularity should be courted by unjustifiable Means, or by mean and imprudent Compliances, yet I think

the Love of the People in general is what every Government, and every private Man, ought to endeavour to obtain; and therefore, when we see the People misled, or attempted to be misled, we ought to take all possible Measures to undeceive them, or to prevent their being deceived by selfish and designing Men. However, Sir, when I say this, I would not have it thought, that I look upon the Revilings or the Applauses of a mercenary Mob, a Mob headed by B Clerks of the ——— and other such mercenary Creatures, to be any Testimony either of the Hatred or the Affections of the People; for such Creatures I must always look on as Enemies to the People, and shall always be proud of meriting their Re- C sentment.

I think, Sir, I need not add any Thing further for shewing the Reasonableness and the Necessity of the Resolution I have mentioned; therefore I shall conclude with making you this Motion, to resolve, That this House will, as soon, &c. (as before mentioned.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, I shall readily agree with the Honourable Gentleman who has made you this Motion, that Taxes upon the Necessaries or Conveniences of Life must increase the Price of Labour, and that it would be a great Advantage to the Trade of this Country, and a great Relief to the People, if we could abolish some of our most heavy Taxes; but I cannot agree with him in thinking, that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring G Countries; and much less can I agree with him, that it is either proper or necessary for us to come to any immediate Resolution, to abolish

lish some of our most heavy Taxes, as soon as the Interest of all the national redeemable Debt shall be reduced to 3 per Cent. per Annum. I wish the Hon. Gentleman had been at some more Pains to shew us how the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, or the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries; for these are Facts which, I think, deserve some Proof, and if any such Thing had been attempted, some Methods might have been found for shewing wherein he was mistaken; for to a simple Averment of a Fact, without one Proof or one Argument for enforcing the Belief of it, no Answer can be made but a contrary Averment; and in this, with respect to *France* at least, I am sure I may be justified; for all their Taxes are not only imposed but raised in an arbitrary Manner; and as most of their Taxes are farmed by Merchants and Dealers, their People are not only loaded with the Tax, but oppressed with a Monopoly, which those Farmers have generally the Address to get into their own Hands, by means of the Privileges they enjoy, as Farmers of that particular Branch of the Revenue. In *Holland*, indeed, the peculiar Nature of their Country makes it more easy for them to raise their Taxes, than it is possible for us to raise any Tax we can impose; but in the main their Taxes are much heavier upon the Necessaries of Life, and consequently more burdensome to Trade, than they are in any Part of this Country, not excepting the City of *London* itself; where the Taxes, I shall grant, are more strictly raised, and are more numerous, than in any other Part of the Kingdom; but this does not proceed from any Partiality towards the rest of the Kingdom: It proceeds from the Nature of Things, which renders it impossible to raise the Tax-

es so strictly, or to impose so many, in any other Part of the Kingdom, as in *London*, and within the Bills of Mortality; and this Disadvantage is fully made good to the Inhabitants in and about *London*, by its being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Center, as it were, of all the Trade and publick Business within the *British* Dominions.

With regard to *France* and *Holland* therefore, I must think, Sir, and it has always been the general Opinion, that the Subjects of each are more loaded, and more oppressed with Taxes and Excises, than the People of this Kingdom; and with regard to any other Country of *Europe*, they may not perhaps have so many or so large Taxes as we have, because their People in general are not near so rich; but in each of them their Taxes are more heavy in Proportion to their Riches than in this Country, and their Method of raising Taxes is more arbitrary and more oppressive; from whence I must conclude, our Taxes can give no Country in *Europe* an Advantage over us in Trade, nor can the Price of Labour, or the Wages of their Servants or Workmen, be cheaper than it is here; at least, if it is, that Cheapness must proceed from their not having so great a Plenty of Money, or from their Workmen and Servants being more frugal and industrious, by which they are enabled to live upon less Wages. Nevertheless, I shall grant, the Abolishing of some of our most heavy Taxes would be a great Benefit to the Nation, and a great Encouragement to our Trade, because it would give us a great additional Advantage in Trade, over every one of our Neighbours; therefore I wish with all my Heart it could be done, but in our present Circumstances I do not think it possible, or at least not consistent with the present and future Happiness of the Nation; for our Government must be supported, and not

not only the Interest of our publick Debts must be regularly paid, but a Part of the Principal must be yearly discharged, in order that we may at last get free of our Debt as well as of most of our Taxes. If we abolish any of our Taxes before our Debts are paid off, we must remain longer in Debt, and consequently must remain longer under those Taxes that are left unabolished; so that the only Difference is, whether we shall remain under *two* Taxes of equal Value for 20 Years, or under *one* of these Taxes only, for 40 Years? Which is a Question that in my Opinion is very doubtful, and requires a very mature Consideration. However, suppose I were to admit that some of our Taxes ought to be taken off, as soon as the Interest payable upon our publick Funds is reduced to 3 *per Cent.* suppose I were to admit that it would be better for the Nation to remain 40 Years under a Tax of 100,000*l.* yearly, than to remain but 20 Years under *two* Taxes of 100,000*l.* yearly each; yet I cannot admit that it is either necessary or proper for this House, upon the present Occasion, to come to any such Resolution as has been proposed.

Every one knows, Sir, and the Gentleman who moved you this Question is very sensible, that no Parliament has any Power or Authority over a future Parliament, nor can the Resolution of one Session be a Tye or Obligation upon any succeeding Session. The Event which the Resolution proposed relates to, is an Event which cannot possibly happen during this Session: It is impossible to suppose that during this Session the Interest upon all our publick Funds can be reduced to 3 *per Cent.* therefore our resolving what shall be done when that Event happens, is undertaking for a future Session, which we have no Power over, nor can pretend to prescribe to. For this Reason, if the Intention of the Resolu-

tion be to encourage our publick Creditors to come in and subscribe their respective Debts at 3 *per Cent.* I must beg Leave to say it is in some Measure a Sort of fraudulent Intention, because it is offering them a Consideration which we have no Power to offer, it is making them a Promise which we cannot fulfil; nor oblige any succeeding Session to fulfil; and I hope this House will always be so careful of its Honour, as never to come to any Resolution or Determination, that may bear the least Imputation of being any Way fraudulent or deceitful.

But suppose, Sir, we had a Power to resolve or determine what shall be done by any future Session, yet upon the present Occasion we ought to avoid coming to any such Resolution or Determination, as what is now proposed; because it will be looked on as a Sort of Threatening. It is a Sort of publick Declaration, that the Nation shall never be freed from any of its Taxes, till the publick Creditors agree to accept of 3 *per Cent.* for the Money due to them, but that it shall be freed from some of its most heavy Taxes, as soon as they agree to accept of that Interest. By such a Declaration what an unlucky Circumstance shall we put all our Creditors in? They must give up a *fourth* Part of their Revenue, which many of them can very ill spare, they must accept of a lower Interest for their Money than any other Man in the Kingdom has, or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the People in general; for upon their Refusal every Man in the Kingdom would look upon them as the Cause of all the Taxes he pays, and every unfortunate Man would look upon them as the Authors of his Misery. Nor does it signify any Thing to say, that those who do not chuse to accept of, or cannot live upon, 3 *per Cent.* for their Money, may sell out and

and imploy their Money where they best can; for if many of them should resolve to sell out, it would soon bring the Price of every one of our Funds below Par, and then they would be reduced to the hard Necessity of losing a Part of their Capital, or of taking such an Interest as the Publick should be pleased to give them. After such a publick Declaration therefore, most of those who are now the Creditors of the Publick, must necessarily remain so, and if they do, they must either accept of 3 per Cent. or they must expose themselves to the Malice and Resentment of the whole Nation, which is a Circumstance no wise Man would chuse; and for this Reason I must look upon the Resolution proposed, as a Sort of threatening and frightening our Creditors into the Accepting of 3 per Cent. which is a Sort of Treatment I shall never, for any Consideration, agree to.

This, Sir, is a Method of treating our publick Creditors, which I hope we shall never have the least Occasion for; and in order to prevent the Nation's being of Opinion that they can never be freed from Taxes, unless the Interest upon all our publick Funds be reduced to 3 per Cent. and consequently to prevent any publick Creditor from incurring the Resentment of the People for refusing to accept of that Interest, I must beg leave to put you in Mind, that tho' the Interest of our publick Funds be never reduced below what it is at present, yet if our Taxes be continued, and the Sinking Fund regularly applied, the People may be freed from all their Taxes, except such as are necessary for the current Service, in about 24 Years, supposing our Debts to be 48 Millions, and the annual Amount of the Sinking Fund to be 1,200,000*l.* And that if it should be thought for the Benefit of the Nation to abolish some of our heavy Taxes, before our Debts

be wholly paid off, we may now do it without any Reduction of Interest, and yet leave a very considerable Sinking Fund remaining for the Payment of a Part of our Debts yearly: Nay, all the Advantage we can expect by the great Reduction proposed, is only an Addition of about 400,000*l.* a Year to the Sinking Fund, and that Addition we shall acquire in less than 8 Years, without any Reduction of Interest, or threatening our publick Creditors with the publick Resentment; so that in less than 8 Years Time we shall be in as good a Condition for abolishing Taxes, and may abolish as many of them, without any such Reduction, as we can do at present, supposing such a Reduction were already brought about: From all which I must conclude, that, with respect to the Abolishing of Taxes, it is no Matter of any great Moment to the People, whether the Reduction takes place or not.

I shall readily grant, Sir, that the Reducing of the Interest upon our Funds from 4 to 3 per Cent. would be a considerable Saving to the Publick; but to pretend that the Abolishing of Taxes equal in Value to that Reduction, would be a Compensation to the publick Creditors for the Loss of one fourth Part of their yearly Revenue, is what I am not a little surprized at; for the Abolishing of the Duties upon Candles and Soap would amount almost to the full Value of what we could save by the Reduction, and to pretend that the Saving of 1*d.* a Pound upon Candles and 1*d.* $\frac{1}{2}$ a Pound upon Soap, would be a Compensation to a Man who loses 100*l.* a Year or more by the Reduction, is something very extraordinary. But suppose I should admit that the Saving in one Way would be a Compensation for the Loss in the other, that Compensation is what we have no Power to promise, and therefore we ought not to

to propose it as an Inducement for any of our Creditors to accept of *3 per Cent.* nor ought we by any Resolution to give them Hopes of its being a Compensation they will certainly meet with; for, I am sure, in private Life, it would not be reckoned very honourable for a Man to promise, or so much as insinuate, a Reward or Compensation, which he had no Power to give; and as in all our Proceedings we have been, so I hope we always will be as jealous of our Honour, as any private Man can or ought to be.

For this Reason, Sir, we ought not to make any such Promise, or propose any such Compensation, even tho' the People without Doors were so far mistaken about the Power of Parliament, as to imagine the Resolutions of one Session were binding upon every succeeding Session; but as the People without Doors are fully apprized of the Extent of our Power, as it is generally known without Doors, as well as within, that no Resolution of this Session can lay an indispensable Obligation upon any future Session, therefore we cannot expect that the Resolution now proposed, or any such Resolution, can any way contribute to the Revival of our Trade, the Success of the Scheme now before us, or the rendering the People better or more generally well affected towards his Majesty and his Government, than they are at present. On the contrary, I believe it would have a quite contrary Effect, with regard to every one of these three Purposes; because it would give the People without Doors a mean Opinion of our Proceedings, and the Enemies to the Scheme would not fail to represent such a Resolution in the most ridiculous Light.

From hence, Sir, I must beg leave to differ so far from the Hon. Gentleman, as to think, that no Gentleman who is a real Friend to our Trade, or to the Scheme, or to his Majesty

and his Government, will be for agreeing to the Resolution proposed: I am sure, if the Hon. Gentleman viewed it in the same Light I do, he would never have offered it to the House: And I must say, I have the Pleasure to think, that neither of the Ends proposed stand in need of any such Resolution. Our Trade is now, I believe, in as flourishing a Condition as ever it was; therefore, tho' it might perhaps be increased by an actual Discharge from some of our Taxes, yet it could not be said to be revived even by the Discharge itself, and much less by an insignificant Resolution for that Purpose. Then as to the Success of the Scheme, if the natural Interest of Money upon publick Securities be at *3 per Cent.* it will take Effect of itself, without any such Resolution; and if the natural Interest of Money be at *4*, I am convinced no Gentleman of this House would desire to make use of Threats, or empty Promises, in order to induce the publick Creditors to accept of *3*. And lastly, as to the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government, I hope they are already so well and so generally established by the Wisdom and Justice of his Majesty's Conduct, that they stand in no need of a Support from any Resolution of Parliament: I am sure every Gentleman of this House would be sorry to think they depend upon such a precarious Foundation as the Resolution now before us, which may be rendered abortive, not only by the Disappointment of the Scheme, but by the next Session's not being of the same Opinion with the present.

I shall conclude, Sir, with observing, that Gentlemen are generally too fond of their own Schemes: Our Schemes are like our Children; we often conceive much greater and more certain Hopes of their Success, than can reasonably be expected. For my Part, as the Scheme is none of mine,

mine, as I had no Share in its Conception, I am so far from being certain of its Success, that I am not a little suspicious of our meeting with a Disappointment; therefore, I must think our agreeing to the Resolution now before us, would be a Sort of Reckoning without one's Host: I must think it will be Time enough for us to come to a Resolution to abolish some of our Taxes, when we see the Scheme has taken effect; for if we should now come to such a previous Resolution, and the Scheme should afterwards prove altogether abortive, the whole World would laugh at our Precipitancy; for which Reason I shall give my Negative to the Question.

The Reply was to the Effect as follows, viz.

Sir, I am a good deal surprized to hear it said, that no Proofs nor Arguments have been offered for shewing that the Taxes in this Kingdom are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than in any of our neighbouring Countries. This, I say, I am a good deal surprized at, considering how many clear Proofs and solid Arguments were laid before us in the Committee on the National Debt, for evincing that melancholy Fact*; which happened so lately, that I am sure they cannot have slipped out of any Gentleman's Memory, and therefore I shall not give you the Trouble of repeating them. But I cannot comprehend what the Hon. Gentleman means by Excises in *Holland* or *France*; for I never heard of a *Gauger* or *Exciseman* in either of those Countries; and upon Enquiry, I believe it will appear, that none of their Taxes are levied in that Manner. As for the *Farmers* in *France*, I do not see how they can set up any Monopoly; because they are often changing; and as every Dealer knows

what Duty he is to pay upon any Commodity he has a Mind to deal in, the *Farmers* can hinder no Man from dealing in what he pleases, and consequently can set up no oppressive Monopoly: Besides, as the *Farmers* are always they who offer the most Money, they cannot always be either Ministers or the Creatures of Ministers, and, therefore would certainly be called to Account, if they should concert Measures for oppressing the People.

Our Travellers, Sir, who make but very superficial Enquiries into the Manners or Customs of any Country they pass through, may perhaps imagine the People in *France* and *Holland* are more heavily, or more oppressively taxed, than the People of this Kingdom, because they hear the People complain there as well as they do here; but any Gentleman who understands these Things, and has made a proper Enquiry, may soon be convinced of the contrary; and, as for the other Countries of *Europe*, they have not, 'tis true, such Numbers of rich Merchants, Masters of Manufactures, and Master Tradesmen, as we have in this Country, which is the Reason that many of their Poor live in Idleness, or starve for mere Want, because there are few or no rich Merchants or Masters in the Country, that have Money to employ them; but in all Countries, where the Poor have any Employment, they are pretty near equally poor; they neither get nor expect more than a comfortable Subsistence by their Labour, and if you enhance the Means of that Subsistence, by Taxes upon the Necessaries or Conveniencies of Life, their Masters must increase their Wages; so that all Taxes land at last upon the Masters, foreign or domestick, who must pay for that Increase of Wages in the Price of the Goods they purchase; but the Difference is, that a Tax laid

* See last Magazine, Page 614, 615.

laid directly upon the Master, only prevents his growing rich so fast, or makes him live less luxuriously, but does not enhance the Price of your Manufactures; whereas a Tax laid upon those Things, that are necessary for the Support of the Poor, enhances the Price of Labour, and consequently raises the Price of all your Manufactures both for domestick and foreign Sale, which at last ruins your Trade. Therefore, if the Poor of this Kingdom be more heavily taxed than the Poor in any other Country of *Europe*, it is what ought to be remedied as soon as possible; it is what will give that Country a great Advantage over us, if they should ever begin to apply themselves to Trade, which every Country of *Europe* is now aiming at as much as they can.

As for the City of *London*, Sir, it is, 'tis true, the Centre of all Business in our Dominions, therefore, it may be called the Heart of our Trade; and I am sure, if our Trade has an Oppression at the Heart, it cannot be expected it will thrive in any Part of the Body. I am far from thinking it a good Reason, why the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, should be taxed more heavily than any other Part of the Kingdom, because they can bear it; for I think no Part of the Kingdom should be taxed, at least in Time of Peace, near so heavily as they can bear. As we have in *London*, great Numbers of idle and extravagant People every Year crowding in upon us from all Parts of the Country, for the Sake of Business, Preferment, or Pleasure, this Concurrence must necessarily enhance the Price of Provisions upon the Laborious and Industrious, which is a Disadvantage at least equal to any Advantage they may reap from their City's being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, and the Centre of all Trade and publick Business: But

if it should be thought proper to lay heavier Taxes upon the Inhabitants of *London* and within the Bills of Mortality, those additional Taxes ought to be laid upon the Luxuries and Pleasures of Life, and not upon the Food and Raiment of the Poor, such as *Leather*, *Salt*, and *common Beer*; nor upon those Things that are necessary for working up every Sort of Manufacture, such as *Coals*, *Soap*, and *Candles*.

I am sorry, Sir, to hear it said in this House, that our People are more idle and extravagant than the People of any neighbouring Country; and I am still more sorry to say, that I am afraid there is too much Ground for such a national Reflection; but that very Idleness and Extravagance has been introduced among our People by the Multitude of Taxes they groan under; for the Levying of those Taxes has created such a great Number of small Posts and idle Employments, that vast Numbers of our Tradesmen and Dealers spend their Time idly and extravagantly, in Hopes of obtaining one of these Posts or Employments; and our People every Day see such Numbers of idle and extravagant Fellows well provided for, by Means of these Posts and Employments, that the Spirit of Idleness and Extravagance becomes every Day more universal; for as such Fellows are generally what we, in Imitation of the *French*, call boon Companions, they are mighty useful Men in those Affairs, which most certainly entitle a Man to a Post or Employment; so that after they have ruined themselves by their Idleness and Extravagance, their Neighbours see them better provided for, and enabled to live more handsomely, than ever they did before, or could ever expect to live by honest Industry or useful Labour: This encourages Hundreds to follow their Example, and makes the Distemper spread like a Plague over the whole

whole Kingdom; whereas, if Beggary and Starving were the certain Consequences of Idleness and Extravagance, every such Fellow would be an Example and a Terror to his Neighbours, which would frighten most of them from following any such Courses. Perhaps, Sir, some Gentleman that hears me, may look upon this as an ill-grounded Speculation; but in Confirmation of what I say, if I am rightly informed, there is now a little Borough in a Northern County, not very far distant from London, in which I am told, there is hardly one thriving Merchant, Tradesman, or Shopkeeper, to be met with; for so many of them have already been provided for by Means of some publick Post or Employment, that all the rest expect the same good Fortune, and every one by living idly or extravagantly, spends more than he gets by his Business, in Hopes of being soon provided for in another Way.

Thus, Sir, we see that, with respect to our Trade, our Taxes are like a two-edged Sword, they cut both Ways, they not only enhance the Price of Labour, but they diminish the Number of our Labourers; and when we see this, supposing the Taxes in this Kingdom to be no more burdensome upon Trade, nor the Methods of raising them more inconvenient for the Merchant and Dealer, than the Taxes in any other Country of Europe, can we make it a Question, whether or no we ought to take the first Opportunity for abolishing some of them? But when it has been made appear, as it was, I think to a Demonstration, in the Committee, whose Report we have just now agreed to, that our Taxes, and our Methods of raising our Taxes, are more burdensome upon Trade, and more inconvenient to the Merchant and Dealer, than either in France or Holland, ought we not to think and contrive all possible or feasible

Methods for removing that Clog upon our Trade, and for putting our People upon an equal Footing at least with any of our Neighbours, especially with those who are our greatest Rivals in Trade and naval Power?

A The Question is not now, whether we shall remain under *one* Tax of 100,000 *l.* a Year for 40 Years, or under *two* Taxes of 100,000 *l.* a Year each, for 20 Years? The Question is, whether we shall preserve our Trade or no? If we continue under the *two* Taxes, our Trade will be ruined before the 20 Years are near expired; which will diminish the Produce of each, and may perhaps render it impossible for us ever to get free of either: If we abolish *one*, we must, 'tis true, continue longer under the *other*; but then we shall preserve our Trade, perhaps improve it, which may make the Produce of that *one* equal perhaps to the present Produce of the *two*; in which Case we shall get free from that *one*, perhaps as soon as if we had continued under both. This, Sir, is the Difference, this is the Question, and this Question can admit of no Dispute. If our People continue subject to all the Taxes they now pay for 24 Years to come, our Trade will certainly be undone, and what is worse, the greatest Part of it will be transferred to our natural Enemies, which will add to their Power at the same Time it diminishes ours; whereas, if we abolish a great Part of our Taxes, or the heaviest of them, we shall preserve our Trade, and may get free of our Debts much sooner; for if we should lose our Trade, we could never get free of our Debts, it would become impossible for us to pay them. Therefore, I hope it will never be made a Question in this House, Whether or no we shall abolish some of our heaviest Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our redeemable Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent.

If this, Sir, can never be made a Question, what Harm is there in our coming to a Resolution, that that shall be done, which every Man agrees ought to be done? That one Session may engage for another, is a Maxim which I am surprized to hear controverted by those, who have so often proposed to and prevailed with, one Session to engage for another. What are all our Votes of Credit but one Session's engaging for another? And I am sure there was never one of them that could be called so just or so necessary an Engagement; as what is now proposed. I know, Sir, that one Parliament cannot by any Resolution, no not even by Act of Parliament, legally bind another; for no Act can be passed by one Parliament, but what may be repealed by another; at least no Man can legally question their Power; but will any Man say, that a future Parliament may not in Justice and Honour be bound by a former? Does not the Security our publick Creditors have for their respective Debts depend upon this Maxim only? We must therefore grant, that the Acts or Resolutions of any one Session, by which foreign States, or private Men, Natives or Foreigners, are induced to lend Money, or conclude any Transaction, to or with our Government, are in Justice and Honour binding upon every future Session; and that no future Parliament can repeal such Acts, or do any Thing contrary to such Resolutions, so as to injure any of the Parties contracting upon the Authority of those Acts or Resolutions. From such Engagements nothing can set us free but that supreme Law, the Safety of the People. For this very Reason, I am for agreeing to the Resolution now proposed, in order that we may bind future Parliaments as much as we can, and in a Manner oblige them to abolish some of our Taxes, as soon as the Interest upon all our Funds is reduced to 3 per Cent. by making it appear upon our Journals, that the A-

bolishing of some of our Taxes was the Condition upon which our Creditors agreed, and the Consideration which induced them to agree, to accept of 3 per Cent. Interest.

A Has any Man pretended, Sir, that the Advantage arising from abolishing our Taxes upon *Soap* and *Candles*, or any other Commodity, will be a full Recompence to every one of our Creditors for the Loss he may sustain by the Reduction of Interest? No, Sir, no such Pretence has been set up by any Gentleman within these Walls: The principal Recompence our Creditors are to expect, arises from the Advantage, which will accrue from such an Abolition to the Generality of the Nation; and to every one of them, who has any Regard for his Country, this will of itself appear to be a full Recompence. But to talk in the most selfish and the most mercenary Manner, the Abolishing of the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles* only, will be a full, or very near a full Compensation to all our publick Creditors who have not above 1000 *l.* Stock, and have Families to maintain or provide for; because the Duties upon *Soap* and *Candles* have raised their Price at least double the Value of the Duties; therefore the Taking off of those Duties will be a Saving of 2 *d.* a Pound upon *Candles* and 3 *d.* a Pound upon *Soap*, for every Pound a Man buys, or that is bought for his Account; which will not only be an immediate Saving in the Expence of his Family, but will diminish the Price of almost every Thing he is obliged to purchase for the Use of his Family. Our Stockholders therefore who have but 1000 *l.* or under, and have Families to maintain, can be no Losers by the Reduction of Interest, if all the Taxes mentioned in the former Debate should be taken off; and such Stockholders are, I think, the only Persons, who have or deserve any Share of our Compassion.

As for the Argument made use of against the Resolution, That it will appear to be fraudulent or deceitful, I think, Sir, I have already fully answered it, by shewing we have a Power to promise such a Compensation or Consideration, and that future Parliaments will be bound in Honour and Justice to make good that Promise; and to pretend, that the Resolution implies a Sort of Threatening the publick Creditors with national Resentment, is an Argument that, in my Way of Thinking, can proceed from nothing but a most contemptible Opinion of the Knowledge and Understanding of most Men in the Nation. Does not every Man of common Understanding know, that the greatest Part of the Taxes he pays, excepting the Land and Malt Tax, goes towards the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts? And can any such Man suppose, that he will get free from any Part of those Taxes, till we get free of a great Part of that Debt, or at least of some Part of the Interest payable upon that Debt? The Resolution therefore can bring no Resentment upon our publick Creditors, because it communicates nothing to the People but what they were before fully apprized of. We may, 'tis true, annihilate the whole Sinking Fund, if we please, by abolishing several of our Taxes, and remain subject for ever to the same Debt we now owe, and the same Interest we now pay; but will any Gentleman say we ought to do so, or that it is consistent with the publick Good to do so? It is, in my Opinion, so far otherwise, that I should not be for annihilating any Part of our Sinking Fund, or abolishing any of our Taxes, before a total Discharge from our Debts, if the present unlucky Circumstances of our Trade did not necessarily require it; because every Shilling paid for Interest is so much absolutely lost to the Nation, being

a Sort of Expence from which the Nation never did, nor ever can reap any Benefit; but as this Loss will not be so grievous to the Nation, when the Interest is reduced to 3 per Cent. as when it stands at 4, therefore we may then, for the Sake of our Trade, annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, tho' we cannot in common Prudence, even for the Sake of our Trade, do any such Thing, while the Interest continues at 4 per Cent.

But suppose, Sir, it were consistent with the publick Good, to abolish some of our Taxes, and thereby annihilate a Part of the Sinking Fund, before the Reduction of Interest, 'tis certain we could not then for several Years be in so good a Condition for reducing the Interest payable upon our publick Funds, as we are at present; which is a strong additional Argument for not attempting any such Thing till that Interest be reduced; and 'tis likewise certain, we cannot now reduce so many of our Taxes, and leave so large a Sinking Fund remaining, as we might do, if the Interest upon our Funds were reduced to 3 per Cent. In the former Case, if we should abolish the Duties upon Soap and Candles only, we would reduce the Sinking Fund to 800,000*l.* per Annum; whereas in the latter, we may abolish not only the Duties upon Soap and Candles, but likewise the Duties on Coals, the Duty on Leather or Hides, and the late Tax on the Victuallers in London and within the Bills of Mortality, and yet leave very near the same yearly Sum remaining for the Sinking Fund.

Thus, Sir, we see there is a very material Difference between what we may do as Interest stands at present, and what we might do if Interest were reduced to 3 per Cent. but to say we shall be in as good a Condition 8 Years hence to abolish some of our Taxes, tho' Interest should stand

stand for all that Time at 4 per Cent. as we would be at present if it were reduced to 3, is something very extraordinary. Surely, Gentlemen who talk so, do not consider, what a vast Sum the People of this Nation would save in 8 Years Time, by the immediate Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year. In the former Debate, it was computed, that the gross Produce of our Taxes, which is the Sum raised yearly upon the People, is near double the net Produce coming into the *Exchequer*; and the Accounts lying upon our Table will justify this Computation: Then to this if we add the Loss People are at, by the advanced Price of the Commodity, upon which the Duty is laid, which, with respect to small Duties, is in many Cases near double the Duty; I am sure I may reckon that, by the Abolishing of Taxes to the Amount of 800,000 *l.* a Year, the People of this Nation will save in their yearly Expence at least 1,200,000 *l.* a Year; and an Annuity of 1,200,000 *l.* a Year for 8 Years, at 4 per Cent. Compound Interest, amounts to above 11 Millions, which is a Saving, I think, deserves to be regarded by every Gentleman who has a Sense of the Sufferings of the People. Besides this Advantage which the People will reap by an immediate Reduction of Interest and Abolition of Taxes, 'tis more than probable our Taxes will not produce so much yearly at the End of 8 Years, as they do at present, if Things should remain for that whole Time upon the present Footing; because, if our Trade be upon the Decline, the People will not only be decreasing in their Number, but will be every Year growing poorer: In either of which Cases there will not be such a Consumpt of those Commodities, upon which the Taxes are raised, which must necessarily diminish the Produce of each of them; and if at

the same Time, we should at that Time be engaged in a War, the yearly Produce of the Sinking Fund may happen to be worth little or nothing; in which Case, we shall then be in no Condition either to reduce the Interest payable upon our publick Funds, or to abolish any of our Taxes.

From what I have said, Sir, it will appear, that if the People continue under all their present Taxes for any Number of Years longer, it is probable they must continue under them for ever, or at least as long as they are able to pay them; and if that should be their unhappy Fate, we may expect they will not only shew a Resentment, but that it will at last break forth into Rage.

However, it is evident that neither their Resentment nor their Rage will be owing to this Resolution, but to the Injuries and Oppressions they feel; and if the publick Creditors are entirely passive, if they are not active in concerting Measures, as has been threatned, for preventing the good Effects of the Scheme we have agreed to, the Resentment of the People will be no Way directed against the Creditors, but against those who shall be found to have misapplied that Fund, which was appointed for paying them off, and for relieving the Nation from Taxes.

The Consequences may, indeed, be fatal to the publick Creditors, with regard to the Debt due to them; because, if the Nation should by such Means be brought into Confusion, that Confusion may prevent its being ever in our Power to pay them any Part of their remaining Principal or future Interest; but that Loss will arise not from the Scheme we have agreed to, nor from the Resolution proposed, but from the bad Success of both; and this I hope every one of the publick Creditors will take particular Notice of, and will therefore join heartily in promoting the Success

Success of the Scheme, instead of concerting Measures for its Defeat.

As all the Arguments made use of for shewing that the Resolution now proposed, can neither contribute to the Revival or Support of our Trade, call it which you will, nor to the Success of the Scheme, nor to reconciling or preserving the Affections of the People towards his Majesty and his Government; I say, as all the Arguments made use of for this Purpose, depend upon its not being in our Power to engage for, or bind any future Parliament, I have fully answered them already, by shewing that it is in our Power to bind a future Parliament to the Abolishing of Taxes, as much as it is in our Power to bind them to the Paying of a Debt; and as the Abolishing of some of our heavy Taxes is really in itself a valuable Consideration, and sufficient for inducing our Creditors to come into the Scheme, I think we ought to agree to the Resolution, on Purpose that the World may see, that a future Parliament cannot in Honour and Justice refuse to abolish some of the Taxes, as soon as the Interest is reduced to 3 per Cent. because it would be a Defrauding the publick Creditors of the Consideration which was promised them, and which was the principal Inducement for their agreeing so unanimously to accept of 3 per Cent. for their Money.

With respect to the Scheme itself, Sir, it signifies nothing to me who was the Author of it; but if the Hon. Gentleman had no Share in its Conception, I am sure he or some of his Friends have added a very considerable Limb to it, and such a Limb too, that if any Miscarriage happens, it will certainly be owing to that Limb which they have added. If they had proposed no Improvement or Addition, if they had not in some Measure obliged Gentlemen to agree to what they proposed, I am convinced the Scheme as it was first

offered would have had the wished for Success; and if they think that what they have added will render it abortive, they are in the Right to disown their being the Authors of the Scheme; but that will not prevent People's imputing to them the whole Blame of the Miscarriage. However, as I think the Scheme, even as it stands now, may meet with Success, and as I think the Resolution now proposed to us will very much contribute to that Success, therefore I shall be for agreeing to it.

The Debate being over, the Question was put upon the Motion, and caried in the Negative by 200 to 142.

The principal Speakers in this Debate were, Sir J—n B—d, T—s L—n, Esq; S—l S—s, Esq; Mr. A—n P—y, W—m P—y, Esq; and G—ge S—ke, Esq; for the Motion; and T—s W—n, Esq; the L—d B—re, W—r P—r, Esq; and Sir R—t W—le, against it.

On Friday the 22^d of April, Sir J—n B—d presented to the House, according to their Order before mentioned, a Bill for redeeming all the publick Funds redeemable by Law, which carry an Interest of 4l. per Cent. per Annum, or converting the same, with Consent of the Proprietors, into a less Interest or Annuity not redeemable, till after the Time therein to be mentioned; which was read a first Time, and ordered to be read a second Time.

On the 29th of the same Month, the said Bill was read a second Time; and a Motion being made for committing it, the same was opposed, upon which their ensued a long Debate.

In this Debate, all the Arguments for and against the Reduction were repeated and enforced; but as we have already given a full Account of most of them, we shall add

add nothing more upon that Subject. The other Part of the Debate related chiefly to some Informalities and Imperfections which were pretended to be found in the Bill, by those who were against its being committed; because they said they were such as could not be properly altered or amended in the Committee. On the other Hand, those who were for committing the Bill, insisted, there were no Informalities or Imperfections in the Bill, but what might easily be altered or amended in the Committee, with the Assistance of those Gentlemen concerned in the Treasury, who were to be supposed best acquainted with the Method of drawing up such Bills, and who, 'twas to be presumed, would give their Assistance to the Committee, tho' they had refused to give any Assistance or Advice to those Gentlemen who were ordered to draw it up. But as what was said upon this Subject cannot be well understood without a Copy of the Bill, which we have not Room for, therefore, we shall give no further Account of it. Only we must take Notice, That Sir R——t W——le having, in a Speech he made against the Question, spoke to the following Effect, viz.

I know, Sir, it has been asserted without Doors, that the Hon. Gentleman who first mentioned this Scheme to the House, had several private Conversations with me upon the Subject, and that we had concerted and settled the Scheme between us, before he offered it to the House; but I shall declare, that he and I had never any private Conversation upon the Subject, nor had we ever any Concert about this Scheme or any other Scheme I know of; therefore, I can with great Confidence affirm, I had never any Hand in this Scheme, either in its original Formation, or in any Shape it has since appeared in.

Sir J——n B——d stood up, and answered in Substance thus;

I am very much obliged to the Hon. Gentleman, Sir, and therefore, I thank him for vindicating me from the Imputation of having had any private Conversation with him, or of having ever had any Concert with him; and if he is afraid lest People should suspect his having had a Hand in the Scheme I proposed to you, I shall be equally just to him by declaring, I never had any private Conversation with him about it, nor did I so much as ask his Approbation or Consent to what I was to offer; but as to the Scheme as it now stands, every Gentleman that hears me knows, it is very different from what I offered; and every one likewise knows that the new Model, which is the Model we have now before us, if it was not offered by the Hon. Gentleman himself, it was at least offered by some of his Friends, and what they proposed was agreed to by other Gentlemen, in order that we might have their Assistance in carrying it through. Therefore the Scheme now before you cannot properly be called mine; and it is very remarkable, that all the Objections made to the Bill, are only to those Articles and Clauses of it, which relate to the Improvements and Additions made to my Scheme, by the Hon. Gentleman's Friends.

Upon this J——n H——w, Esq; stood up, and among other Things, took Notice, That the Scheme then before them seemed to be like a Bastard-Child that had several reputed Fathers, neither of whom would own it: For his Part, he said, he thought it a very hopeful Child, and therefore if no other Gentleman would take it as his own, he would; for he did not doubt of the Child's thriving, and if it did, it would be an Honour to its Parent.

4 T

The

The Speakers in this long Debate, were as follow, *viz.*

For committing the Bill, Sir J—
B—d, Sir W—d L—ne, the
L—d B—re, J—n H—w. Esq;
Sir T—s S—n, M—r of the R—lls,
S—l S—ys, Esq; Sir W—m A
W—m, Sir E—d B—n.

Against committing the Bill, Sir
R—t W—le, Sir C—s W—r,
W—m S—r, Esq; Mr. A—n
H—te, R—t K—t, Esq; P—r
B—l, Esq; C—l B—n, W—m
B—les, Esq; J—s O—pe, Esq; B
the L—d S—n, Sir W—m Y—ge.

Upon the Question's being put, it was carried in the Negative, which put an End to the Affair for last Session.

After the 11th of *March*, when the Motion for granting a *Million* to his Majesty towards redeeming the like Sum of the increased Capital of the *South-Sea Company*, commonly called *Old South-Sea Annuities*, was agreed to, (See Pages 523, 542.) there was no remarkable Debate happened in the Committee of Supply; nor was there any remarkable Debate happened upon any of the Resolutions of the Committee of Ways and Means, except that relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, (See Page 469.) therefore we shall take no farther Notice of any other Resolution of that Committee; but as this Affair relating to the Duty on *Sweets* occasioned several long Debates, we shall give some Account of it. The first Time it was mentioned, was on *Monday* the 7th of *March*, when the proper Officer was ordered to lay before the House, an Account of the nett Income into the *Exchequer* of the Duties on *Sweets*, for seven Years ended at *Michaelmas* then last, distinguishing each Year; which was accordingly presented the very next Day; and on *Friday* the 18th of *March*, the House having resolved itself into a Committee, to consider further of Ways and Means for raising

the Supply granted to his Majesty, and the said Account having been referred to the said Committee, Sir R—t W—le rose up, and after a short Speech, moved for the first Resolution relating to the Duty on *Sweets*, which our Readers may see in Page 469, and which, after a long Debate, was agreed to: Then the 2d Resolution relating to the same Affair was moved and agreed to; and the House having, upon the Report, agreed to both these Resolutions, a Bill was ordered to be brought in, which, after long Debates, was passed into a Law.

In these Debates, the Arguments for the Resolutions, and afterwards for the Bill, were in Substance as follow, *viz.*

C Sir, By the Resolutions we have already come to, in the Committee of Supply, it will upon Calculation appear, we have granted his Majesty for the Service of the ensuing Year, a Supply of about 2,025,000*l.* Now as the *Land-Tax* and the *Malt-Tax* which we have granted, do not both together amount to 1,700,000*l.* there will be a Deficiency of near 400,000*l.* which must be provided for, either by increasing some of the Taxes we have already, or by granting some new Tax, or by taking so much from the Sinking Fund, or lastly, by the Method I have thought of, and which I shall presently explain to you. As for Increasing any of the Taxes we have already, or imposing a new one, I do not think we can make good the Deficiency by either of these Ways; because I do not think the People can well bear any additional or new Tax, and the attempting of any such Thing, may alienate the Affections of great Numbers of People from our present happy Establishment, and may contribute towards increasing those Mobs and Tumults, which have of late been so frequent all over the Kingdom: And as for the Sinking Fund,

E

F

G

the

the growing Produce thereof is already appropriated towards paying a *Million* to the *South-Sea* old Annuity-tants; so that we cannot make good this Deficiency out of the growing Produce of that Fund, and I do not think it would be proper to mortgage any Part of the Sinking Fund for this Purpose.

There is therefore, in my Opinion, no possible Way left for making good this Deficiency but that I have thought of, which is not by increasing any present Tax, or imposing any new one, but by reducing an old Tax to one Third of what it is at present. This, Sir, may at first View seem to be a Paradox; but when I have explained myself, the Mystery will vanish, and every Gentleman will, I hope, approve of the Method I am to propose. Every one knows that, ever since the Year 1699, we have had a Duty of no less than 36*s.* a *Barrel*, upon all *Sweets* made for Sale within this Kingdom, which is so high a Duty that it has in some Measure entirely prevented the Making of any such Liquors for Sale; at least if any such have been made, the Makers have always found Means to evade the Law, and defraud the Publick of the Duty; so that this Duty, as I have been told, has never produced any Thing considerable, and by the Accounts upon our Table it appears the present Produce amounts to little or nothing. Now, Sir, I am convinced that, if there were a moderate Duty laid upon such Liquors, and the Nature of the Liquors subjected to the Duty fully explained in the Act for imposing it; I say, that in such a Case I am convinced, a very considerable Revenue would arise yearly from the Consumption of such Liquors; because, as the prime Cost is but small, if the Duty were tolerable, I believe there would hardly be an Ale-House in the Kingdom without great Variety of such Li-

quors; and if they were to be had at every Ale-House, I am persuaded great Quantities of them would be consumed, especially now that our People are debarred the Use of Spirituous Liquors in Drams or otherwise.

A wise.
It is not to be questioned, Sir, we already know it by Experience, that our putting an entire Stop to the Retail of Spirituous Liquors, will be a great Hardship upon all those who formerly dealt in that Trade; and many of those who used to be their Customers and Consumers will likewise think it a Hardship, to be debarred a moderate Use of such Liquors, in that Method they have from their Youth been accustomed to: Altho' every sensible Man must be convinced, that the putting of this Hardship upon him was absolutely necessary for the publick Good, and for preserving the Health and Morals of the People, yet we find there are great Numbers who are apt to murmur at this Regulation; and to prevent these Murmurs, I can think of no Expedient more proper than that of encouraging the Retail and Consumption of those Liquors called *Sweets*, which may be made to answer all the good Ends of Spirituous Liquors, without being attended with any of the fatal Consequences proceeding from an immoderate Use of such Liquors. This of itself would be a good Reason for diminishing the Duty payable upon those Liquors called *Sweets*, even tho' there were no Benefit to arise therefrom to the publick Revenue, nor any Occasion for increasing that Revenue. But as there is an absolute Necessity for increasing the publick Revenue, in order to answer those Supplies you have already granted; and as there is a great Probability that, by diminishing the Duty on *Sweets* to one Third of what it is at present, you will increase the publick Revenue as much as is necessary for answering the

the present Occasion, I think no Gentleman can dispute the Reasonableness of making such a Diminution.

But, Sir, to add to the Weight of those Reasons I have already given, there is another Reason of great A Weight with me for endeavouring to encourage the Consumption of *Sweets*, and consequently for diminishing the Duty now payable upon them, and that is, the great Quantity of Sugar made use of in the Composition of such Liquors. B I believe no Gentleman doubts but that the Consumption of Sugar will be diminished by the strict Prohibition of the Retail of spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwise; and as our Sugar Trade will suffer by diminishing this Consumption, I should C be glad this Loss were made good to the Sugar Trade, by encouraging and increasing the Consumption of those Liquors called *Sweets*, in the Composition of which, there is, I believe, more Sugar made use of than was ever used in the Composition of the D like Quantity of that Liquor called Punch. To this I shall add, that, as most of the Materials made use of in the Composition of all Sorts of *Sweets* are the Growth and Manufacture of our own Dominions, and as a great Variety of such Liquors E may very much diminish the Consumption of foreign Wines, therefore the Increasing the Consumption of the former will not only be a great Encouragement and Advantage to the industrious Part of our own Subjects, but will likewise be an Advantage and Addition to our general Balance of Trade, by diminishing the Value of our Imports.

From all which, Sir, I hope it will appear not only proper but necessary, that we should abolish the present Duty on *Sweets*, and instead thereof, lay on such a less Duty as to this House shall seem reasonable. With respect to the new Duty to

be laid on, I shall not pretend to prescribe to the House, I shall only beg Leave to give my Reasons why I think 12s. a *Barrel* will be a proper Duty. I believe every Gentleman will agree, that as long as we have a Duty upon *Malt*, and an Excise upon all *Malt Liquors*, there ought to be some Duty laid upon all other Liquors consumed within the Kingdom, whether they proceed from foreign or from domestick Growth or Manufacture; because the Production of *Barley* and *Malt*, is a Production we ought to encourage as much as any home Production whatever; Therefore there ought certainly to be some Duty laid upon all *Sweets* consumed within the Kingdom; and in my Opinion that Duty ought to be higher than the Duties and Excises payable upon the like Quantity of any Sort of *Malt Liquors*; but not so high as may entirely prevent the Retail of any of those Liquors. If we consider and compute the *Malt* Duty, and the several Excises payable upon *Beer* and *Ale*, we may reckon that every *Barrel* of strong *Beer* or *Ale* pays between 5 and 6s. a *Barrel*; and for the Encouragement of our Farmers, by increasing the Consumption of their *Barley*, I think we ought to make the Duty on *Sweets* at least double the Duty upon *Malt Liquors*; for which Reason I reckon 12s. per *Barrel* is the least Duty we can propose to lay upon all *Sweets*, which shall hereafter be consumed within this Kingdom.

This Duty, Sir, as it is but a very little above 4d. a *Gallon*, cannot, I think, any Way tend to discourage or diminish the Consumption of such Liquors, nor can it enhance the Price by Retail, so as to make our People prefer the Use of any foreign Liquor, to that of our home-made *Sweets*, when they are skilfully prepared, and proper Care taken to make them palatable as well as healthful; for I am of Opinion that *Sweets* of all

all Kinds may be made as palatable and as healthful as any Sort of Punch; and considering that the Consumers must pay for every Gallon even of Rum Punch at least 4s. 4d. Duty, I cannot but think, that upon diminishing the Duty on *Sweets* as I have proposed, several Sorts of them may be made up and sold at a much cheaper Rate than any Sort of Punch can be; from whence I must conclude, that in a little Time great Quantities will begin to be consumed; and that from thenceforward, this particular Branch of the publick Revenue will be very much increased by diminishing the Duty upon such Liquors; as was formerly the Case with respect to Pepper, the Duty upon which has produced a great deal more yearly since it was reduced, than ever it did before.

It is impossible for me, Sir, to foretel with any certainty, what this Duty upon *Sweets*, when so reduced, will bring in yearly. I have seen several Calculations and Computations upon the Head, all of which were founded upon very probable Conjectures; but they differed so widely from one another, that no Man can determine positively, which of them he ought to give most Credit to. By some of these Computations it was calculated that the Duty upon *Sweets* when reduced to 12s. per Barrel, would in all Appearance produce near 50,000l. a Year: By others the annual Produce of this Duty was not computed at above 20 or 25,000l. which is so great a Difference that no Determination, hardly any Supposition, can be made with respect to the future yearly Produce. However, if this Duty be reduced to 12s. a Barrel, and that Doubt explained, which has arisen upon former Acts of Parliament, in relation to Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British Fruit* or *Sugar*, or from *Fruit* or *Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients,

and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of *made Wines*, I shall suppose the Duty will then produce 30,000l. a Year; for the Consumpt of those Liquors called *Sweets*, has not only been prevented by the extravagant Height of the Duty laid upon them; but the Doubt I have mentioned has always prevented its being collected; because it has always been pretended that such *made Wines*, were not chargeable with the Duty of 36s. a Barrel, and by that Pretence, People have generally got free from paying that Duty even upon *Sweets* made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *foreign Fruit* or *Sugar*; it being generally impossible to determine, whether such Mixtures are made from *foreign* or from *British Fruits* or *Sugar*.

Now, Sir, if we suppose that the future Produce of this Duty will amount to 30,000l. a Year, as it has never heretofore produced, I believe, 30l. a Year, the Increase upon it will then be a sufficient Fund for borrowing as much as will be necessary for making good the Supplies you have granted for the Service of this ensuing Year. I say it will be a sufficient Fund not only for paying the Interest yearly, but for paying off the Principal in a small Number of Years; for 400,000l. will I reckon be the highest Sum that will be wanted, and as that Sum may be borrowed at 3 per Cent. a Revenue of near 30,000l. a Year will pay not only the Interest yearly, but will likewise pay off the Principal in about 17 Years; and if the Duty should produce more than 30,000l. a Year, it will then pay off the Principal as well as growing Interest much sooner.

Thus, Sir, I have explained to you, what I think by far the easiest and most proper Way of raising that Sum, which is still deficient for making good those Supplies we have already agreed to. These Supplies must

must certainly be made good some way or other; and if any Gentleman will rise up and shew us a better Method for making them good, I shall very readily give up my Project, and agree to any other Method proposed; since I have nothing in my View but to raise those Sums we have thought necessary for the publick Service, in that Method which shall appear to be most beneficial for the Nation, and least burdensome to the People. If the House approves of what I have proposed, the proper Method for carrying it into Execution is, To resolve first to repeal or abolish the old Duty; and then to resolve, That a Duty of 12*s.* *per Barrel* shall for the future be granted to his Majesty upon all *Sweets* made for Sale; therefore, I shall conclude with making you this Motion, That it may be resolved, That the Duty of 36*s.* a Barrel on *Sweets*, granted, &c. (as before mentioned Page, 469.)

To this it was answered in Substance as follows, viz.

Sir, The Hon. Gentleman who was pleased to move you this Question, set out with three or four general Maxims, in which I shall most readily agree with him. The Supplies we have already granted ought certainly to be made good by some Means or other; and I am so far of Opinion, that these Supplies must be made good, either by adding to some of the Taxes we have already, or by imposing some new one, or by incroaching upon the Sinking Fund, that I am sure there is no fourth Way of making them good; therefore the Hon. Gentleman raised my Curiosity not a little, when he told us, he had thought of a Method for raising as much as would make good the Deficiency of the *Land* and *Malt Tax*, without adding to any old Tax, or imposing any new Tax, and without making the least Incroachment

on the Sinking Fund. This I confess was to me a Paradox and a Mystery, which I became very impatient to hear explained; but how greatly was I disappointed, when this notable Project came to be laid open! for then it appeared to me, and I hope I shall by and by make it appear to the House, that this Project must either be a new Tax, or it must be an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I shall likewise, Sir, most readily agree with the Hon. Gentleman in two other Maxims he set out with, which were, that the People cannot well bear any additional or new Tax, and that we ought never to make an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund: But this, Sir, we ought to have thought on before granting the Supplies; and if this were considered as seriously as it ought to be, it would make every Gentleman extremely cautious of proposing to run the Nation into any unnecessary Expence, or of asking any Supplies for that Purpose; for after we have once granted Supplies, they must be made good some way or other. We ought to consider that, notwithstanding the many Taxes our People are loaded with, yet all those Taxes, except the *Land* and the *Malt Tax*, are mortgaged for making good the Civil List Revenue we have granted, or for paying the Principal, and the Interest, of the Debts we have contracted: We have now no Way of providing for the current Service of the Year, but by Means of the *Malt Tax* and the *Land Tax*; and I must say, tho' I am sorry to say it, if we do not fall into a Method of contracting the publick Expence in Time of Peace, so as to make those two Taxes answer it, this Nation must necessarily and speedily be undone. We may go on for a few Years contriving Expedients, and mortgaging every little Fund we have left to mortgage; but this must be

be attended with inevitable Ruin at last; for the richest Man in the Kingdom, if he spent but 10*l.* a Year more than the real Income of his Estate, would certainly at last be undone.

Many Ways might be contrived, A Sir, for lessening the publick Expence yearly. The Reduction of the Army, or putting them upon a different Foot, is one Method which is obvious and known to every Man; but there is another Method which would be as certain and as extensive, B and that is, by annihilating all those *Sine-Cure* Posts, and undeserved or ill deserved Salaries and Pensions, which have been growing upon us for many Years, and which can never be of any Service to the People, unless it be to enable future Ministers C to oppress them. Many of these I could mention in every Branch of publick Business within this Kingdom; but I shall not take upon me the Malice and Resentment, which such a Piece of publick Service D would draw upon the Author, from all those whose private Interest would be struck at. I do not think it either proper or prudent for any private Man to take upon himself such a Burden: It is proper only for a Government to undertake; and when- E ver the Government does undertake it, I am sure they will, if they make clean Work, save upwards of 500,000*l.* a Year to the Publick, which is a greater Sum than is wanted for the Service of the ensuing Year.

This, Sir, is what might have been done, it is what ought to have been done, because by so doing we might have avoided that fatal Dilemma we are now reduced to. The Resolutions of the Committee of Supply have now made it absolutely necessary to load the People with additional or new Taxes, or to incroach upon the Sinking Fund; and whatever the Hon. Gentleman may think of his favourite temporary Expedi-

ent, to every impartial Enquirer, 'twill appear, that it must be ranked under one or other of these Methods. The Duty upon *Sweets*, whatever was the Intention of those Parliaments which established it, has never been raised, at least it has never been raised in so extensive or strict a Manner as is now proposed; therefore, with regard to the People, it must be look'd on as a new Tax. If we were to revive the antient Tax called *Dangeldt*, we may as well pretend it is no new Tax, as to say that a Tax upon *Sweets* which was never before levied upon the People, is no new Tax. The People never before felt any such Tax, therefore when they come to feel it they will look on it as a new Load laid upon their Backs, already almost broken, and will murmur as much as if it were a Tax which had never before been thought of. They do not look into Acts of Parliament for learning what Taxes they are subject to: They consider only what Taxes they have been accustomed to pay; and therefore they will always date the Commencement of a Tax from that Time when it first began to be exacted upon them. For this Reason our beginning now to exact this Tax, will certainly raise new Murmurs: I shall not say it will make the Murmurings of the People more general; they are already by much too general; and such temporary Expedients are not, I am sure, the most proper Ways for appeasing them, or for preventing those Riots and Tumults, which are now so justly complained of.

But, Sir, even with respect to the Laws by which this Duty has been established, the Method now proposed for supplying the current Service, must be look'd on as a Method for doing it by a new Tax in Whole or in Part, or it must be look'd on as a Method for doing it by incroaching upon those Funds appropriated

priated to the Payment of the Principal or Interest of our Debts. If it was never designed by any of the Laws now in Being, that *made Wines* should be looked on as *Sweets*, or subjected to any Tax as such, the subjecting them for the future to a Tax, must be look'd on as imposing a new Tax upon such Wines; and if by the Laws now in Being all Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British Fruit or Sugar*, or from *Fruit or Sugar* mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, were designed to be looked on as *Sweets*, and as such to be chargeable with the Duty of 36 s. a Barrel, as well as all Liquors made for Sale from foreign *Fruits or Sugar*, then the whole Duty now proposed to be abolished, stands appropriated to the Payment of our Debts, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, as may appear from the famous Act of the 6th of his late Majesty, for enabling the *South-Sea Company* to increase their Capital, by which this Duty, among others, stands expressly appropriated to that Company. Nor does it signify to say that this Duty never produced any Thing; because if the Levying of this Duty was prevented by a Doubt in the Act of Parliament, that Doubt ought to have been explained long before now; for he who grants is always supposed to grant every Thing necessary for making his Grant effectual. Therefore, as the old Duty stands appropriated to the *South-Sea Company*, and makes a Part of the Sinking Fund, we cannot abolish it without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; and if the *South-Sea Company* should give up two Thirds of their Grant, in order to make the remaining Third more effectual, or if we should by Way of Repeal, take from the Sinking Fund two Thirds of this Duty, in Hopes the remaining Third would produce more than the whole three Parts formerly did, or could have

done, surely the *South-Sea Company* as well as the Sinking Fund have an undoubted Right to that third Part; so that we cannot appropriate the 12s. now proposed to be laid upon *Sweets* to the Service of next Year, without incroaching both upon the Sinking Fund, and upon the Right of the *South-Sea Company*.

I hope, Sir, every Gentleman that hears me is now convinced, the Project we have under our Consideration must either be called a new Tax, or an Incroachment on the Sinking Fund; and as the Hon. Gentleman who moved you the Question, admitted, that we ought neither to impose any new Tax, nor make any such Incroachment; I hope he will now admit, his Proposition is such a one as ought not to be agreed to; for tho' I shall not say that out of his own Mouth I have condemned him, yet, I think I may say, that out of his own Mouth, I have condemned the Project he has been pleased to offer. I know, it may be said, that if we, from the future Produce of this Duty, pay yearly to the Sinking Fund, a Sum equal to what the Duty has produced at a Medium since the first Time of its being granted, we cannot be accused of making any Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund; but is not this a Sort of Play upon Words hardly becoming the Courts in *Westminster-Hall*, and much less the Proceedings of this House, where nothing but Equity and strict Honour ought to prevail? A Duty has been granted, Money has been borrowed upon the Credit of that Duty, it has since been found the Duty was so high, that it amounted to a Prohibition, and, therefore, produced little or nothing; the Creditors come and desire the Duty may be lowered, in order that they may have some Sort of Security for their Money: Could we refuse so equitable a Request? Could we in Honour say, No, you shall have

the former Produce, which was little or nothing, continued to you; but if, upon its being lowered, it produces more, we must take the whole increased Produce, for answering our own necessary Occasions? The Case before us is still stronger: The old Duty upon *Sweets* would have produced a great deal more than ever it did, if the Doubt which arose about the Intention of the Law had been explained as now designed; and, if what is now designed, was really the Intention of the Law at first, that Doubt ought to have been so explained as soon as it was taken Notice of, in order to make effectual to our Creditors that Grant, which we had made them for securing the Payment of the Money they lent us in our Distress. We may abolish the old Duty, we may establish one third Part of that Duty only, for the future; but that new Duty so to be established, in Honour, in Justice, in Equity, belongs to the Creditors who lent their Money upon the Credit of the old Duty; and consequently, we cannot apply it to the current Service, without making an Incroachment upon the Sinking Fund.

I have hitherto supposed, Sir, that the Parliaments which established the Duty upon *Sweets*, designed to include those Liquors called *made Wines*; and this I have supposed, only to shew that, even in that Case, we ought not to agree to the Method proposed, because it will be an Incroachment upon the Sinking-Fund; but now, Sir, I shall suppose, and I do insist upon it, that no former Parliament ever intended to subject Liquors made for Sale by Infusion, Fermentation, or otherwise, from *British* Fruits or Sugar, or from Fruits or Sugar mixed with other Materials or Ingredients, and commonly called or distinguished by the Name of *made Wines*, to the Duty by them imposed upon *Sweets*; and

the Practice ever since those Acts of Parliament were passed, which is above *thirty* Years ago, has fully justified my Opinion; for we must suppose the Commissioners of the Treasury, the Commissioners of Excise, and the Excisemen, have often taken the Opinion of Lawyers upon this Head; and if they had ever had the Opinion of any tolerable Lawyer in their Favour, we may suppose, they would have exacted the Tax with the utmost Rigour; we cannot suppose, without doing great Injustice to those worthy Servants of their Country, that they would have allowed the Publick to be defrauded of such a considerable Revenue, if in all that Time they had ever had the Opinion of any noted Lawyer in their Favour; therefore, I must look upon the Proposition now made to us, as a Proposition for imposing a new Tax upon the Subjects of this Kingdom; and I shall now endeavour to shew, that it is a Tax of the most oppressive Nature, and which may be attended with the most fatal Consequences, with respect to our Constitution and the Liberty of the Subject.

The Nature of Excise-Laws, Sir, and the dangerous Consequences of extending such Laws in a free Country, were upon a late famous Occasion so fully explained, that I little expected a further Extension of such Laws would have been attempted for some Years to come; but now I find, I have been egregiously mistaken; for the Project now before us, I must look on as a new and a wide Extension of those Laws. Every one knows, the Duty upon *Sweets* is to be raised by the Laws of Excise, and if you subject all those Liquors called *made Wines* to that Duty, there is hardly a Farmer, or a Country Gentleman in *England*, but will by that Means be subjected to the Laws of Excise, if he resolves to make the best Use of his Garden or

Orchard. Our Excise-Laws have already spread themselves over every City, Borough, and Village in the Kingdom, and by this new Regulation they are to spread themselves over every County, and to enter into the most lonesome Farm-House in *England*; for if a Farmer has a Mind to make a little Money of an Elder-Hedge, or of a Goosberry, Raspberry, or Currant-Bush, or of a Mulberry-Tree, he may have in his Garden, in order to enable him to pay his Rent to his Landlord, his House must be open at all Hours in the Day-time to the Gauger, nay, it must be open at all Hours in the Night-time, if the Gauger can but find a profligate Fellow of an Ale-house-keeper in the Hundred, who has got himself named a Constable by the Trading Justices of the County. Can it be supposed, Sir, that this will produce no fresh Murmurs, can it be supposed our Farmers will all submit patiently to such a Hardship, or can it be supposed that all our Gaugers will behave with common Decency, when they get into a lonesome House in the Country, at a Time, when, perhaps, the Family are in the Fields a Hay-making, and no Person left at Home, but the Farmer's Wife, or his Daughter? Then, suppose the Farmer is caught in a Fraud, how will the Landlord look, when he finds himself disappointed of his Rent, by an Extent brought against his Tenant for the Penalty?

I am sure, Sir, I need not repeat to the House the many good Arguments that have been made use of against Excise-Laws. It has upon a former Occasion been shewn, that they are of the most dangerous Consequence to our Constitution; and the Arguments then made use of are certainly still fresh in every Gentleman's Memory. I shall only take Notice, that as the Authority and Business of Excisemen will be very

much increased by this new Project, we have now a greater Number of them than we have Occasion for, or their Number must be greatly augmented; for not only many of our Farmers will from henceforth be subjected to their Review, but I am afraid, every Tavern and Wine-Cellar in the Kingdom. We know what a Clamour was raised against the last Attempt to subject Wine-Merchants and Vintners to Excise-Laws: That was an open Attempt, and such a one as they could openly oppose; but the Difficulty of such an Attack was then felt; and, therefore, they are now to be attack'd in an indirect and hidden Method; for, if most of our Dealers in Wine, be Brewers of Wine, as is commonly reported, every such Dealer will, by this Method, be subjected to the Review of an Exciseman, tho' he dares not say he is afraid of any such Thing, and, therefore, cannot openly oppose the Project now before us. By this Means, the Influence which Excisemen already have, or may have, upon all City and Borough-Elections, will be very much increased; and, as many of our Farmers are Freeholders, the Excisemen will, by Means of this Project, have an Opportunity of gaining an Influence likewise in all County-Elections; both which are diametrically opposite to our Constitution, and to the Liberty of the Subject.

If by lowering the Duty on *Sweets*, and preventing the Retail of Spirituous Liquors in Punch or otherwise, those Liquors called *made Wines*, should come to be of universal Use, we must suppose that almost every Farmer in *England*, will turn himself towards the making of such Liquors, and the producing of Materials proper for that Purpose; the Consequence of which will be, that he must go to the next Office of Excise, and enter his Name and Place of Abode, together

ther with every Room and Place made Use of by him for making or keeping any such Liquors. This he must do under a great Penalty, and from the Time he has done so, he can no longer call his House properly his own: From that Moment, the Gauger may any Hour of the Day, and as often as he pleases, require Admittance; and, by taking a Constable along with him, he may at any Hour of the Night, and as often as he has a Mind, require Admittance: If the poor Farmer should at any Time refuse to leave his Labour in the Fields, or if he should refuse to get out of Bed after a hard Day's Labour, in order to let the Gauger enter his House, he subjects himself to a great Penalty. For these Penalties he is not to be sued according to the common Law, nor to be tried in the usual Way, by God and his Country; but he is to be tried before the Commissioners of Excise, or before two Justices of Peace, who may convict him, without any Jury, upon the Oath of the Gauger, who makes the Complaint; and all this without any Appeal but to the Quarter Sessions, whose Judgment is to be final. Then after he is once convicted, in order that he may for ever after remain obedient to the Commissioners of Excise, or to the Justices of Peace, they are impowered to levy the whole or what Part of the Penalty they please, according to the past or the future Behaviour of the unfortunate Convict.

This, Sir, will be the Case of every Farmer in *England*, who attempts to make the most of the Goosberries or Currants he has in his Garden; and if to avoid this Misfortune, he should resolve to sell his Fruits to the Makers of such Liquors, instead of making them himself, he must sell them for little or nothing. From hence I am apt to believe that, notwithstanding the low Duty you propose to lay upon *made Wines*, the Methods you

are to prescribe for raising it, will prevent the Consumpt; because no Man will subject himself to the Excise Laws, for the Sake of any Advantage he may get by the making of such Liquors; and if they are not made, I am sure they cannot be consumed; so that one or other of these Inconveniencies must arise from the Project now under our Consideration: Either a great Number of our People will be subjected to Excise Laws, who were never before subject to any such, or the Produce of the Duty will come far short of your Expectation. By the former, our Liberties will be exposed to greater Danger than they are at present, or ever ought to be; and by the latter, we shall leave a new Load upon our Posterity, without any competent Fund, for ridding them of that Load; which is, I think, what no Man can agree to, who has any Regard for his Posterity, or the future Happiness of his Country.

From what I have said, Sir, I hope it will appear, that the Method proposed for making good the Deficiency of the Supplies for this next ensuing Year, is not only a new Tax, but that that Tax is one of the most dangerous Taxes we can impose upon the People. I shall be far from proposing any Addition to the *Land Tax*; I think *2s. in the Pound* is the highest our Land-holders ought to be loaded with in Time of Peace; but I am sure it would be better for every Land-holder in *England* to pay *3s. in the Pound Land Tax*, than to lay such a Hardship upon his Tenants, as to make it necessary for them either to subject themselves to the Laws of Excise, or give up making the proper Advantage of some Part of their Farms. An additional *Shilling* to the *Land Tax* is but a short temporary Loss: It is a Loss of a twentieth Part of his Rent but for one Year only; but by subjecting his Tenants to such a

Hardship for 17 or 20 Years, he may find himself obliged to lower the Rent of every Farm that belongs to him, much more than a twentieth Part, which will be probably a perpetual Loss, or at least a yearly Loss that may affect him and his Posterity A for a great Number of Years. For this Reason I say, Sir, every Landholder ought to chuse rather to pay an additional *Shilling Land-Tax*, than subject his Tenants to such a Hardship as will be the necessary Consequence of the Project now before us. B But there is another Reason why every Man in the Kingdom, as well as every Land-holder, ought to be against this Project, if he has a proper

Regard for his Posterity or for his Country; because the Method thereby proposed for raising Money for the current Service, is in general, I think, the most pernicious Method this Nation, or any Nation, can ever chuse for supplying such Services. To establish Funds, and then mortgage those Funds for ready Money, is a Method of supplying the current Service, which I shall now endeavour to shew no Nation ought to take, but in Cases of the greatest Extremity and Danger.

[*The rest of this Debate we shall give in the APPENDIX, when this Journal is to be concluded.*]

A View of the Weekly ESSAYS and DISPUTES *in this Month.*

Weekly Miscellany, Nov. 25. N^o 257.

The Amusements of the Bath, and Extravagance of our modern Gaming.

ONE who signs himself *OTTIE*, in a Letter from the *Bath*, says: The Company of this Place may be divided into the Sick and Well; those who come for the Benefit of the Waters, and those who come for the Diversions of the Season; the Wealthy, the Frolick and the Gay; the Indigent, the Lazar, and the emaciated Cripple. This makes an odd Contrast of Persons; the one Sort appearing up and down the Rooms and Walks as so many Monuments of the Vanity, Shortness, and Pains of human Existence, to abate the silly Confidence of Man, to stop the Pursuit of improper and hurtful Pleasures, and check the eager Pursuit of any: The other Sort wholly unattentive to this affecting Lecture of Morality, and running after Enjoyments with such *insatiable Idleness and Inconsideration of Futurity*, as if Pleasure was never to admit of Interruption, or Life of End. Too much Indolence unnerves the Body, and too much Hurry is a Profusion of Spirits; and a continual Dance after frivolous Pleasures is sure to end in Chagrin and Disappointment. It is however as difficult to avoid making one in this mad Company, as it is easy to despise what they are doing: The Course of Things is as mechanical as if it went by Clockwork, and you cannot well be a *free Agent*, where the whole

Turn is to do as other People do: It is a Sort of *Fairy Circle*, if you do not run round in it, you either cannot move at all, or are in every Body's Way.

Res est secura voluptas, is a Truth which never appeared to me in so strong a Light as now. *Pleasure* is the Refinement of a Gentleman, it is a Matter of Taste and Sense; it requires Parts and Genius, and Manners, and is not to be found in the everlasting Giggle and low Amusements of the great Vulgar or the small. People of Condition should be more distinguish'd by the elegant Choice of their Satisfaction, than by their Dress and Equipage. I cannot for my Life see how a Man of Quality, sitting Day after Day, and Night after Night at a *Quadrille* or *Gaming Table*, rises above the lowest Mechanic with his Joint-stool, Chalk, and All-fours, unless in having a cleaner Room, and risking larger Sums. Cards are the universal Mode of a whole People, who pique themselves upon being intelligent and polite: And yet the best that can be said of them is, that they make People easy, by allowing them to be dull, and superseding the Necessity of their being entertaining: And this Diversion might not improperly be called the Stratagem of shallow People who could not converse, to bring down to a Level with themselves all who could. For *Gaming* is a Suspension of the Understanding, a stupid Attention to a Parcel of black and red Spots, a continual Conflict of the lowest and basest Passions; and if there be some Skill required in some Species of it, Creatures who do not discover common

common Sense in other Things, often excel in it. And yet for *this*, *Gentlemen* forego their Distinction of Birth and Education, waste a whole Life in the most trifling of Amusements, and bury the noblest Faculties in the meanest of Employments. For *this* the *Ladies* pass anxious Days and sleepless Nights, deny themselves the Benefits of Light and Air, and sacrifice even *Beauty* to the dear Diversion. The Itch of Play rages like a Plague, and depopulates the Island of all that is lovely, generous and brave; it is epidemical throughout the Kingdom, and spares neither Age nor Sex among us; and we are become a *Nation of Gamesters*. In this Quarter the Distemper breaks out with all its terrible Symptoms, and has absorbed the other Entertainments and Follies of the Place, as the floating Humours of the Body sometimes settle into a *Gout*, which is a Complication of them all. Nothing is to be seen but *Play* and the Preparations for it: Persons of all Characters and Denominations sit down to *Cards* from Morning to Night, and Night to Morning; and *they* agree in this Particular, who disagree in every Thing else.

There is a Story of Mr. *Locke*, that being invited to make a Party with a Company of the highest Rank, and hearing the Cards called for as soon as the Dinner was over, he retired thoughtful to a Window, and being asked the Reason of his Seriousness, replied, *he had not slept the foregoing Night for the Pleasure their Lordships had given him leave to expect, from that Day's Conversation with Men of the first Character for Sense and Genius, and hoped his Sorrow for his Disappointment would be forgiven him.* It is said too, the Game was thrown up, and Conversation restored upon this Remonstrance. The Pain I feel upon this Occasion is much like that of the great Man I have mentioned: But I am not a Mr. *Locke*, and if I were, might possibly not be so successful now, tho' I was to die of the Spleen. I should therefore have acquiesced and not thrust myself into the impertinent Office of instructing my Betters, if I could have found one Day in seven exempt from this Offence against Taste and good Manners. But when on *Sunday* I went to the public Rooms for my usual Refreshment of Tea, and the Pleasure of looking about me, and beheld Tables with Cards, and surrounded by Persons of Figure enough to give a Sanction to the Practice among the Vulgar, I lost all Patience, and could not forbear crying out against a Scene so shocking in a *Protestant, Christian Kingdom*. This may be a foreign Mode, but I am confident, 'till lately, it has not been an *English* one. Our *travell'd* Gentlemen may more innocently import *French* Silks than such *French* Fashions. A seventh Day has been devoted to holy Purposes by the first written Laws, and perhaps

as early as our World: And I am fully persuaded, we are indebted for the *Remains* of Religion and even *rational Nature*, to the constant Return of that Day. I therefore look upon all Attempts to mis-apply it, not only as an Insult on that unerring Wisdom which appointed it, but a Malevolence to Mankind, who by this Means may insensibly lose their only Security against sinking as low as the brutal Nature in Thinking and Acting.

Common Sense, Dec. 3. N^o 44.

Of Tyranny and Tyrants.

S I R,

THE best Definition of Tyranny, that I have met with, is Mr. *Locke's*, tho' I think it is not compleat. 'Tyranny is the Exercise of Power beyond Right'. I would rather say, 'tis the Exercise of Power without Right, to the Prejudice of some Person: Because a Power may be used without Right, and yet to the Benefit of him on whom 'tis exercis'd, and consequently not Tyrannical. But if this Definition of Tyranny be not exact, his following Remarks have judiciously and fully describ'd it. 'Where Law ends (says he) Tyranny begins; if the Law be transgress'd to another's Harm'. 'Tis a Mistake, he says, to think this Fault is proper only to Monarchies. Other Forms of Government are liable to it, as well as that; for wherever the Power, that is put in any Hands for the Government of the People, and the Preservation of their Properties, is applied to other Ends, and made Use of to impoverish, harass, or subdue them to the arbitrary Commands of those that have it, then it becomes Tyranny, whether it be in the Hands of one or many.

If these Observations are true, as, surely, they are, then not only the Person who has the supreme Power in every State may be Tyrannical, but every other inferior Magistrate. A Monarchy, whether despotick or limited, may possibly be as little liable to Tyranny as a Republick; and a Constable, perhaps, may not be less likely to be a Tyrant than a Sultan. The Essence of Tyranny consists plainly in an illegal, a partial, a rapacious Administration in the Use of Authority by any Magistrate, be he Supreme or Inferior, not for the Good of the People, but to gratify his Avarice, Ambition, or some irregular Passion.

It follows too from these Observations, that a People may be oppress'd, and yet the Prince be scarce properly denominat'd a Tyrant. He may be given up to Pleasure, have an Aversion to Business, or not be capable of it: But if such an indolent and unapt Prince should connive at the licentious Cruelty of his wicked Ministers, the Sufferings of the People may

be as great as those of the Romans under Nero. It may be observ'd further, Sir, that there are Degrees of Tyranny: And that there may be some Alleviations even of the worst Sorts of it. I should think myself less unhappy to be born under a Tyranny establish'd for some Generations, than under a free Government, and yet to live to see the Loss of that inestimable Blessing of Liberty. Further yet, Sir, if it were my unhappy State to be a Slave, it would still be some Consolation to me to be domineer'd over by wise, tho' wicked Men: For surely, Sir, it must add great Weight to the Chains of any thinking Slave, to find himself oppress'd by contemptible Masters.

Another Letter in this Paper insinuates, that the Plain Account of the Sacrament, was written to make the Dissenters, and consequently the Ministers, easy about the Affair of the T—st.

In this and some former Papers was published the following Advertisement.

Whereas the Merchants of England have found by Experience, that it is dangerous for Ships carrying English Colours to trade either to the Mediterranean or America, this is to give Notice to all Commanders of Ships, as well such as were formerly call'd Men of War, and have since been employ'd in Trade for the Benefit of their respective Captains, as Masters of Merchant-Men, that Peter St. Malo lately arriv'd from France, will furnish them with French Colours at very reasonable Rates.

N. B. That before he left his own Country he made the same Colours for the French trading Vessels, which were found to have that Virtue in them, that all those Ships that carried them, pass'd unmolested thro' all Parts of the World. He is to be spoke with every Day upon the French Walk in Exchange Time, and afterwards at Tom's House, Cornhill.

Craftsman, Dec. 3. N^o 595.

OF INFORMERS.

THE most shocking Circumstance of the Roman Bondage, under their Emperors, was the Encouragement given to Informers and Accusers. Mr. Gordon hath bestow'd several Chapters upon these Ministers, in his Discourses before Tacitus, with their Methods of Proceeding, the horrid Butcheries they committed, and the general Consternation they struck into all Ranks of People; particularly in the Reigns of Tiberius, Caligula, Nero, and Domitian. Every Man of Birth, Ability, Virtue, or Merit of any Kind, which render'd them both hated and fear'd, was almost sure of Destruction; for these infamous Practices grew so general, by Example, Depravity and personal Fear,

that many Persons made no Scruple of betraying their most intimate Friends and Acquaintance, their nearest Relations, and even their Parents, for Plots real, or pretended against their Imperial Majesties. Not only the least obnoxious Words and Actions were wrested into High-Treason, but even Looks and Gestures were sufficient to take away the Lives of those, who were suspected, or disliked at Court. Nay, it was even criminal to discover their Fears. In short, the Roman Commonwealth, founded at first by a Band of Outlaws, was now degenerated into a Community of Informers and Cut-Throats, who were not only protected and rewarded, but advanced to the highest Honours and Offices of State.

The good Emperor Titus began to put a Stop to these Enormities, by a severe Edict against Informers and Accusers. But his short Reign, and the brutish Temper of his Brother Domitian, who succeeded him, frustrated that glorious Design. Informers were now let loose again, and gorged themselves with the noblest Roman Blood, which their former Rapine had left unshed. However Nerva, who succeeded, being a good Prince, revived the Edict of Titus, with several Additions; and his adopted Son, Trajan, endeavoured to compleat it, by the Law of Retaliation, or dooming them to the same Punishments, which they had unjustly fix'd upon others. This furnishes Pliny with one of the finest Topics of Panegyrick upon that excellent Prince, which I cannot forbear quoting from Bishop Kennet's Translation of it. Having given some Account of Domitian's barbarous Shews and Diversions, he proceeds as follows.

Instead of this bloody, this accursed Shew, how fair, how innocent an one have you oblig'd us with? We have now seen false Evidences and suborn'd Informers punish'd with the same Severity as Thieves and Murderers. This Sort of Plague did lately so far spread, that they skulk'd not in Corners, or unfrequented Places, but throng'd the Temples and crowded the Courts of Justice. At the Mercy of these Rascals lay every Man's Life and Estate, no Degree, no Condition secure; the being a Father, or being Childless, was a like criminal, when these Villains were agreed to make it so. To this fatal Mischief, in former Times, the Spleen and Avarice of our Princes hath much contributed. But you nobly resolv'd to correct this Abuse; and when you had reform'd the Discipline of the Camp, you came to regulate the Proceedings of your Courts of Justice too. — You have done nothing more honourable, nothing more becoming the Glories of your Reign, than your just Retribution of suborn'd Witnesses. We fed our Eyes with seeing them drawn thro' the Streets to the Place of Execution. We look'd and blest'd ourselves at

the comfortable Sight; when, like Victims to atone for the Blood their Perjuries had shed, they were dragg'd away to make the same ignominious End, to which they had brought so many innocent Souls. Some of them, in order to be transported, were thrust on Ship-board, and deliver'd over to the Mercy of Storms and Billows. Deservedly were they expell'd *that Country*, which their *Misinformation* had laid desolate. If any of them happen'd to escape the Justice of *Winds and the Sea*, they should be landed on *barren Rocks and unfrequented Shores*, there to drudge out a laborious and a miserable Life, far from all Societies, of which they were not fit to be Members. — A memorable Sight this! — A Fleet of *Evidences* turn'd loose, to grapple with the Winds, which spread their Sails together in the Storms, and fly before the driving Waves, till their Career be stopt by dashing against some surly Rock! — A gallant Prospect from the safer Shore, to view the rambling Navy tost and scatter'd thro' the foaming Ocean; and a fit Occasion this, of selfh Gratitude to our *Prince*, who, preserving his Clemency untainted, hath deliver'd over *these Criminals* to the Justice of the *Sea* and the *Gods* thereof! — A notable Instance this of what Alterations short Time may produce, when to those very Desarts, where the *Innocent* were lately so injuriously banish'd, the *Guilty* are now justly confined; and all those savage Islands, so lately fill'd with *falsely accused Senators*, are now more properly stock'd with *these perfidious Informers*, whom you have not only curb'd, or stifled for the present, but by *Penalties*, answerable to their black Crimes, totally quell'd and suppress'd them for ever.

It must give every Man Pleasure to read this Account, however averse to Severity of all Kinds. — But all the Care of *this good Prince* could not secure Posterity from the *same dreadful Pestilence*, which broke out again in the following Reigns, and continued to infest the wretched Dregs of the *Roman People*, with but little Intermision, till the Destruction of the *Empire* itself. Even the *Christian Emperors* encouraged it; and, if we may believe some Writers, carry'd it much farther than the very worst of the *Heathen Tyrants*.

I do not find that these *Blood-Suckers* ever got to such an Head in *England*; tho' our History abounds with Instances of *State-Murders*, by open Violence, private Assassinations, and mock Forms of Law. But no Court was ever without *Spies and Intelligencers*, both *abroad and at home*. Those *abroad* are absolutely necessary in Negotiation, and may be turn'd to great Advantage by a *skilful Minister*. But those *at home* are only the Under-Agents of the *grand Whispersers*, and by them employ'd to discover the private Opinions of the People. For this Purpose, they frequent Coffee-houses and other Places of publick Re-

sort, as well as insinuate themselves into private Clubs and Parties of Pleasure; where they have a Licence to rail and abuse those, who pay them, in order to draw Secrets out of those, with whom they converse. I have myself had the Honour more than once of being beset by *these ministerial Familiars*; but they happen'd to be such Novices in their Profession, that they either betray'd themselves, or were discover'd by others, to whom they foolishly boasted of their Employment.

There is another Sort of *Informers* in all Kingdoms and States, which abound with *penal Laws*, enforced with *pecuniary Rewards*. This became such a Grievance, in the Reign of *Q. Elizabeth*, that several Acts were pass'd, for the Redress of it; which proving ineffectual, another Law was made, in the Reign of *K. James I.* at the Motion of the *House of Commons*, against *vexatious Relators, Informers and Promoters upon penal Statutes*.

It is natural to observe here, that if it was thought necessary to restrain the Practices of common *Informers*, in the Reigns of *Q. Elizabeth* and *K. James I.* it is certainly expedient at present, when *penal Laws* are multiply'd and extended to such a Degree, that our Streets swarm with *mercenary Informers*, and our Prisons are fill'd with *little miserable Offenders* against them; which excites the Compassion of good natured People at home, and I am afraid gives no great Credit to our Country abroad.

Daily Gazetteer, Dec. 10. N^o 760.

One who signs himself Paul Crape, gives the following Summary of his Letters upon the Subject of the Spanish Depredations.

I HAVE said, that if the *Spaniards* will be rigorous, and withdraw their Forbearance and Indulgence, they can justify many of the late Captures; and we are upon the same Footing as other Nations. — That the *Craftsman* is very vain, in making a Merit of saying nothing to the Purpose; and we have no Treaty that can invalidate these Confiscations. — That at *Utrecht* we had an undeniable Opportunity of obtaining Explanations, or Concessions, that would have prevented most, if not all, the late Losses and Disputes. — That Satisfaction ought to be made for all the Seizures they can't prove to be just; and if it is not immediate, the Sufferers should not be impatient, but rest persuaded there's a just Cause of Delay, and believe the *Spaniards* have their Demands upon us, and may charge us with illegal Captures, &c. — That we were wrong in the *Sicilian* Hostilities, and cannot blame the *Spaniards* Resentment, nor expect they should shew us any particular Marks of their Esteem or Regard. — That it is our Interest to endeavour

a hearty Reconciliation with them; and it is theirs likewise to be always in a strict Alliance and Friendship with us, preferable to any other Nation. These Assertions are again humbly submitted to every disinterested and impartial Briton.

He concludes thus: And here with a becoming Resentment, we reflect upon the Negotiations of the *Utrecht* Treaty-Mongers, who neglected their Country. If they did not know what to ask, why did they not inform themselves? We made a Peace by ourselves, surely we ought to have made it for ourselves. The *West-India* Trade should have really been taken Care of, and such Explanations or Concessions insisted upon, that would have effectually destroy'd the present Pretensions of the *Spaniards*. — But this was not the only Sin of Omission; they might have demanded all the *Newfoundland* Fishery to ourselves, exclusive of the *French*, who have the Advantage of us in carrying better Goods to Market; whether it be owing to their Salt, their Art in Curing, or the Goodness of their Fish, I don't pretend to say. — Yet thro' these Clouds we shine, and are notwithstanding a glorious Nation; and so we shall continue as long as we are Proof against the Attempts of the Evil-minded. Unanimity will give us superior Strength; but Discord will weaken us, and make us a Prey to an Enemy. — If there are any who long to fish in troubled Waters, to involve us in a War, that they may have an Opportunity of making their own Fortunes; to these unnatural Sons of an indulgent Mother, I shall tell a short Story, and leave 'em to make the Application. When I was at *Jamaica*, as we were going off one Evening, *Jack Bowline*, who was then a Midshipman with us, starts up all at once, and falls foul of one of the Fellows, who resisted, and in the Scuffle we were fairly overset; but very luckily for us, another Boat was putting off at the same Time and saved us: Who can guess the Cause of *Jack's* Wrath? They had left his Cagg of Rum ashore: What do you think he reply'd, when we expostulated with him? — D—n his Bl—d, he had rather we were all drowned, than want Punch.

Common Sense, Dec. 10. N° 45.

NONSENSE to COMMON SENSE.

S I R,

I AM *Nonsense*, a terrestrial Goddess, your avow'd and irreconcilable Foe. My Power is too universally known and acknowledg'd, not to be dreaded by all those who dare oppose me. I have the Ladies, the Poetasters, and the M— on my Side:—The Figure I have often made in great A—s is conspicuous to all Mankind: And it is well known, that when

my Reasons are heard and attended to, they have sometimes had a more powerful Influence in those A—s than the Eloquence of *Tully* ever had over the Senators of *Rome*.—My Love Verses are handed about in the Circle of *St. James's*; they are approv'd of, and admir'd by the whole C—t; and my good Lord C— and his V—e, both honour me with their Devotion.

But to say Truth, I am often oblig'd to appear in different Shapes, in order to gain so extensive a Sway as I now bear in this polite Nation: But one of the Places where I most constantly appear in my own Figure, and where my Attributes are most openly avow'd, is the third Form in *Westminster* School; whoever goes thorough that bright Seminary of Learning, must begin his first Essays in Poetry by making Nonsense Verses. It was here that *Dryden* himself stay'd half a Year within my Jurisdiction, and tho' he ungratefully endeavour'd to forget the first Rudiments which he learnt under my benign Influence, yet, in the Multiplicity of his Writings, he was frequently compell'd to practise my sacred Mysteries.

The Pulpit and the Play-house owe their croud'd Audiences to my Inspiration.—Orator *Henley* is my chief Priest, and, as *Pope* vulgarly expresses it,

Imbrown'd with native bronze, lo! *Henley* stands,

Tuning his voice, and balancing his hands:
How fluent *Nonsense* trickles from his tongue!
How sweet the periods! neither said nor sung.

The present glorious *Laureat* is a Poet after my own Heart. His Vows to me have been constant, and his Offerings at my Altar uninterrupted, except when he stole from certain Lordly Persons (whose Names and Characters I abhor) that insipid Comedy, call'd, *The Careless Husband*. Such an Act in such a Son rais'd my Indignation to the highest Pitch: Nor could he perfectly appease my Anger till he had turn'd the *Tartuffe* of *Moliere* into his own excellent *Nonjuror*; but he is now all, and for ever, my own: And I can boast of no greater Work, even among the most happy Labours of my most laborious Bards, than the last incomprehensible Ode upon the 30th of *October*.

Two or three Roman Poets did me great Mischief many Ages ago; *Quintus Horatius Flaccus* in particular, who strove, not without a Prospect of Success, to banish me out of the habitable World: But I baffled his Endeavours by making *Dunster* translate him into Prose, and *Creech* turn him into Rhyme; and when I have a Mind to do this same *Horace* more Mischief than ordinary, and even to out-bentley *Bentley*, I dedicate him to a Lord, or adorn him with Gems and Medals.

It is needless for me to boast of the many Followers I have, when I shine in immortal Lustre at the Theatre in the *Haymarket*, a Place where you dare not shew your Head. — It is the *Sanctum Sanctorum* of *Nonsense*, and owes its present Glory to the happy Administration of those two Demi-Gods, my Vice-Gerents, *Angelo Cori*, and *John James Heidegger*. — The Merits of *John James* are known and confes'd at all the Courts of *Europe*; and they have rais'd such Envy in the *Spanish* Ministers (who are making continual Depredations on the *English*) that those rapacious *Dons* have seiz'd the charming *Farinelli* as counterband Goods. *John James* bears the Loss with an Equanimity and Calmness, that renders him, if possible, more than ever the Delight of Mankind: He knows he shall one Day or other receive Justice: He is a Lover of Peace and Harmony, and therefore waits till he has had a satisfactory Letter from Mr. K — before he makes those unnecessary Clamours and Outcries, that would only proclaim him a sturdy Beggar, and could be of no Sort of Use towards the Recovery of *Farinelli*. The worthy *Angelo Cori* is less known and consequently less admired; but I can give no better an Idea of his excellent Parts, and fine Turn for *Nonsense*, than by quoting one of his Songs in the last delightful Opera of *Asfaxes*, Act. 1st. Scene 4th. Page 13th.

When in a foggy gloomy air,
The monster wanders from the wood,
He flies the huntsman, struck with fear,
Nor, rav'nous, longer seeks his food.
But both his fear and flight prove vain,
By his unerring hand,
His fury's quell'd, and he lies slain,
Stretch'd on the barren strand.

Such a Genius both for Musick and Poetry (for the *Italian* Time is equal to the *English* Words) must hereafter claim the Laurel, when my Favourite C — is mingled among the Gods: Nor can I have the least Glimpse of Joy in the present universal Grief, but by thinking that it may afford Time to *Signor Cori* to prepare more *Nonsense* for his Friend *Heidegger's* Stage. — But bidding Defiance to you and the *Craftsman*, I shall conclude with saying, that tho' I am the Essence and Dsity of *Nonsense*, I hope to have wrote for once to be understood by *Common Sense*.

Adieu for ever.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 10. N^o 479.

Several Sorts of COXCOMBS.

Mr. SPEC,

IT is an Observation of a great Wit, I think *Montaigne*, that, as amongst wise Men, he is the wisest who thinks he knows least; so amongst Fools, he is the greatest

that thinks he knows most: The Truth of this Maxim is evident to all who have made the least Observation on Mankind; there is such a Self-sufficiency eternally attach'd to Folly, that it will inevitably betray itself; there is not a Blockhead, but who is at the same Time a talkative Impertinent. If we view the World, we find several different Species of Fools, who entertain a prodigious Opinion of themselves, from having their several Accomplishments arising from different Talents; the *Coffee-House Politician* looks with the utmost Contempt on the Man of Wit and Pleasure; the *Virtuoso* heartily despises the Abilities of the Court Gallant, and the *Beau* has as mean an Opinion of the Knowledge of Coins and Cockleshells, as the *Naturalist* can possibly have for Toupees and Drawing Rooms: Folly and Impertinence may be equally predominant in them all, whether they settle the Affairs of the Nation or those of the Theatre; whether an *Otto* may be the Delight of their Soul, or a fine Shape and fashionable Suit of Cloaths: Your more sober, sedate Coxcombs are generally the most troublesome to Men of Sense; and your witty, gay, gallant Blockheads are the greatest Plagues to Women, either of Beauty or Fortune: There is not a young Lady, of either one or the other, can arrive at her 16th Year, but she has a Shoal of these detestable arrogant Creatures, who list themselves in their Service, and are Volunteers in the Pursuit of Wealth and Beauty.

I wish I could say that the Female-Sex did not give these last Kind of Blockheads too civil a Reception, and did not believe that they really had the Accomplishments of a fine Gentleman because they themselves averr'd it: If the Ladies run into such Indiscretion, it is merely from their wanting to know how to distinguish the Man of Wit and Merit from the empty Coxcomb and talkative Fop; it is therefore incumbent on you, to endeavour the giving the Minds of the Women a more rational Turn, and place in a true Light the Pretences and Arrogance of a Fop; nor can I think you could hit of a more effectual Way, than to give an *historical Account* of these *Inspids*; you need not be very tedious and prolix in your Memoirs, for as their Talk and Actions are very narrowly confin'd, the Diary of one Day would in Effect be the whole History of their Life.

DOROTHY MANLY.

The Unreasonableness of branding Men with odious Names, for mere Difference in Opinion.

G To the Author of the LONDON MAGAZINE.

S I R,

IT is very often the Case, that those who differ from current Orthodoxy are aspers'd with

A X

with the Name of *atheistical* or *deistical* Persons; tho' they believe the Verity and Excellency of the Christian Religion, and lead a virtuous Course of Life.

The Persons generally aspers'd, are those who believe the universal Goodness of God, and the intire Agreement of Reason and Revelation. But as it was not my Intent to say any Thing in Defence of their Tenets, I shall proceed to make some Remarks on the Disingenuity of those that asperse 'em. It's very apparent, that they are sensible what they say, is a Slur on their Characters, on whom they fix the Appellation; because they mention it as an ill Thing; which Consideration alone, ought to prevail with Persons of any tolerable Decency in their Behaviour, or whose Pretensions to Religion are not intirely hypocritical, to be extremely cautious, in saying any Thing which affects a Person's Character; because it's obvious, that Satisfaction and Advancement in Life, are in some Measure connected with the Esteem of others; and consequently, to throw an *Odium* on another's Character, has a plain Tendency to do him an irreparable Injury: Yet nothing is more common than for a Person, as above mention'd, to be generally pronounced a *Deist*, and sometimes an *Atheist*, without any particular Inquiry into the Equity of the Charge, by those that pronounce him such: Which, to say no worse, plainly shews a great deal of Conceit and blind Zeal; because, a Difference in Sentiments from their superior Judgment (as they seem to take that for granted) is the Foundation of the Aspersions: And what is it but a blind Zeal (or what if I should say a Want of Candour and common Honesty) that propagates the Calumny on such a Person, who innocently, and truly believes he has an equal Right to think for himself, with the rest of Mankind, and likewise to declare his Judgment? Tho' Ministers, in general, should be esteem'd and respected more than any other Rank of Men; yet, it's very much to be fear'd, that there are some of all Denominations, who are in some Measure accessory to the Continuation of this Disposition in People, to think ill of Persons of different Sentiments, thro' the Neglect of duly recommending (both in the Pulpit and Conversation) the Right of private Judgment, and a benevolent Disposition to all Mankind.

I think nothing is more absurd, than to blame any Man whatsoever, that leads a virtuous Life, merely for his Sentiments; because Belief is necessary, *i. e.* we must judge as the Evidence for Things appears to our Understandings: Therefore no Man is culpable for wrong Opinions, nor a whit the better for right ones, any farther, than he has, or has not, made a due Use of his Capacity, &c. in impartially inquiring into the Truth of Things. It's so evident that our Judgment

and Estimation of Men ought to be as they are virtuous, that I shall only quote a Verse or two from the Bible. *Mat. vii. 18, 20. A good Tree cannot bring forth evil Fruit; neither can a corrupt Tree bring forth good Fruit. Wherefore by their Fruits ye shall know them. Acts x. 34, 35. Then Peter open'd his Mouth, and said, Of a Truth I perceive that God is no Respector of Persons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh Righteousness, is accepted with him.*

Now since this is the Case as to the Divine Being himself, let all who own it to be their Duty to imitate him, not only esteem Men as they are virtuous, but vindicate them from unjust and opinionated Censures; and not shew a Backwardness freely to express their own Sentiments, for Fear of the like Treatment from such mean Spirits; tho', indeed, it may be more political, to follow the Irony of a learned Author: 'Whatever you do, be orthodox. Orthodoxy will cover a Multitude of Sins; but a cloud of Virtues cannot cover the Want of the minutest Particle of Orthodoxy.'

Daventry,
Nov. 22, 1737.

I am,
Yours, &c.

Craftsman, Dec. 17. N^o 597.

I have often mention'd Pallas, (*says Mr. D'Anvers*) the proud Freed-man and Favourite of Claudius Cæsar; but the Insolence of that vile Upstart, the Prostitution of the Roman Senate, and the mean Submission of the Emperor himself, are so finely describ'd and expos'd by Pliny, in one of his Epistles, that I will give the Reader a Translation of it, as near as the Idioms of the two Languages, and my little Skill in them, will permit, (The following is an Extract of it.)

PLINY to his Friend MONTANUS.

I Acquainted you in my last that I had some Time ago taken Notice of a Monument of Pallas, with the following Inscription.

'The Senate decreed to him the Ornaments of the Prætorship, and the Sum of 15 Millions of Sesterces, for his Fidelity and Duty to his Patrons; with which Honour he was pleased to be contented.' — I had afterwards the Curiosity to consult this Decree of the Senate; which I found to be so ample and extravagant, that even this flattering Inscription seem'd mean and little.

Shall we suppose that the Authors of this Decree acted upon a Principle of *ordid Flattery*; or that it was extorted from them by their wretched Condition? — I would call them Flatterers, if Flattery became the Senate — Was it therefore owing to their miserable Condition? — But nobody could be so miserable as to be forc'd into such Measures. — Was it then Ambition, and the Thirst after Pre-
ferment?

ferment?—But who could be so mad as to desire *Preferment*, at the Expence of his own or the publick Infamy, in a City, where it was the Business of the *bighest Officers* to be the highest Flatterers of *Pallas* in the Senate?—I shall not take any Notice of the *Prætorian Ornaments* being given to *Pallas*, a Slave; because they were given by a Pack of Slaves — I likewise omit that Part of their Decree, which order'd that he should not only be advised, but even compell'd to make Use of * gold Rings; for it would have been inconsistent with the Majesty of the Senate to let their *Prætor* wear iron ones — But it is very remarkable that the Senate (of which that august Assembly hath never yet sufficiently purged itself) should return Thanks to *Cæsar* for mentioning *Pallas* in the highest Strains of Panegyrick; and desire him to grant the Liberty to give him a Testimony of their Benevolence. What could be more honourable for the Senate than to prove themselves not ungrateful to *Pallas*?

They therefore order'd, ' That the Sum of 15 Millions of *Sesterces* should be given him out of the Treasury, and that the more averse his Mind should be from accepting it, they should be the more importunate in their Addresses to the Father of his Country to compel *Pallas* to give Way to the Senate'—It was omitted in the Decree, that when this Application should be made to *Pallas*, by publick Authority, he should be desired to yield to the Senate; that, under the most insolent Pretence of Self-denial, *Cæsar* himself might be call'd upon to become their Advocate, that he would not refuse a Sum of 15 Millions of *Sesterces*; but he did refuse it, and in so doing shew'd more Arrogance, than in accepting of it. However the Senate extoll'd even this pretended Modesty, in the Form of a Complaint, and in the following Words.

' But tho' the best of Princes, and the Father of his Country, desired them to recede, at the Request of *Pallas*, from that Part of their Decree, which related to giving him 15 Millions of *Sesterces* out of the Treasury, they thought themselves obliged to declare that they voted this Sum, amongst other Honours, voluntarily and as in Duty bound, from a true Sense of the Integrity and Vigilance of *Pallas*. However, their Prince's Will, which they thought criminal to oppose in any Case, should in this likewise be obey'd.'

Behold *Pallas*, as it were, opposing a Decree of the Senate; moderating the Honours bestowed upon him, and refusing a Present of 15 Millions of *Sesterces*.—Behold *Cæsar*, at the Entreaty, or rather at the Command of his *Freë-Slave*, tamely obeying his Orders,

in the Senate! For the Slave commands his Master in private, whom he pretends to beseech in the Senate.

How am I rejoiced that it was my good Fortune not to be born in those Times, of which I am as much ashamed, as if I really lived in them! I make no Question that you are equally affected with my self. I know you to be a Man of Spirit, as well as strict Honour; and therefore am convinced, tho' I have carry'd my Indignation, in some Respects, beyond the Bounds of a Letter, that you will think I have rather shew'd too little than too much. Farewell.

P. S. Our Readers having been disappointed of the *Crafsman*, design'd for Saturday last, we think ourselves obliged to acquaint them, that several Messengers came on Friday Night, just before the Time of Publication, and seiz'd every Paper they could find, without taking up any Body; but they came again the next Morning, and apprehended several of the Workmen; after having rummaged and rifled the House in their usual Manner. The Publick may expect some farther Account of these extraordinary Proceedings in a short Time, unless we are prevented by the Hand of Power—At present, we can only add that this Paper contain'd two Letters; one in Vindication of a certain young Gentleman, of great Merit and Distinction, who hath been several Times most grossly abus'd in the *Gazetteer*; and the other relating to the Spanish Depredations.

Universal Spectator, Dec. 17. N^o 430.

S I R,

I AM an unhappy Husband; unhappy only in what is term'd a little Foible in a Wife: I have marry'd a Woman of as much Beauty as I could wish, of as much Fortune as I wanted, her Temper good-natur'd, her Love mutual: Two Years we liv'd in all that Extacy of connubial Felicity, which generous and virtuous Minds can only know. But, alas! How is this Scene chang'd by a fatal Accident? A female Relation came to live with us: This Cousin of my Wife's was a Widow, whose Character I thought unblameable, and which, indeed, was so, if I was to except one Vice, the being addicted to private *Dram drinking*; but that Mischief did not long confine itself, it soon spread farther, and my Wife was drawn in to be a Companion in the *Spirituious Regalement*. Complaisance was the first Temptation; but so dangerous and fatal is any Consent of this Kind, that by not being able to deny at first, Complaisance grows into Approbation, and that in a very little Time terminates in an habitual

* This was the peculiar Badge of Roman Knights, to distinguish them from the common People, who wore silver Rings, as the Slaves did iron ones.

Love: Such has been the miserable Progress, such the curs'd Effect of my Wife's Imprudence; what at first she sipp'd with a Kind of Loathing, she now cannot, or will not, be without.

I cannot, Sir, express to you what Concern this has given me; it has been my Torment in the Day, my Sorrow in the Night; my Tongue has been fill'd with resenting Indignation, while my Soul has felt all the Force of *Pity* as well as *Anguish*: When I behold the Woman that was once, and who still is, the Delight of my Heart, degraded into the most infamous Habit of *Drinking*; when I view those Eyes that were wont to sparkle with inviting Lustre, with awkward Goggling betray an unmeaning Look; when I see Deadness in her Features, Folly in her Behaviour, her Tongue saltering, her Breath tainted, her Health impairing; the different Passions that I feel is as impossible for you to imagine, as they are for me to relate. Yours, &c.

W. W.

As melancholy a Scene (says Mr. Spectator) as this Gentleman has painted, I am sorry to say that it is a too common one in private Families, and the odious Character he has drawn of his Wife is too general to be suppos'd fictitious.

The Custom of drinking Drams among Women is destructive of every amiable Quality they can boast; by that their Beauty, their Modesty, their Prudence, their good Nature, and Wit in Conversation are entirely destroy'd: They appear after they have been solacing themselves with any pernicious intoxicating Liquors, contemptible to the sober Part of their own Sex, as well as ugly to ours.

This vicious Habit, I am inform'd, has considerably spread itself under the Notion of its being fashionable; and many a Lady will now, without the least Ceremony or Blush, bring out her Dram Bottle, who, before it was fashionable, cautiously reserv'd it in her Corner Cupboard for her own private drinking: By this Means the Ladies, instead of taking a Sip now and then upon emergent Occasions, drink their Glass or two round, and not one of them shews the least Reluctance to shew herself a publick Dram-Drinker. The Woman who uses herself to Drams at a Visit, will soon be brought to drink them at home; and tho' she may begin with one a Day, she will soon arrive to five at a Sitting.

Modesty and good Behaviour, by which I mean a graceful Decorum and genteel Conduct, are the peculiar Ornaments which are to adorn the fair Sex; but the Woman who addicta herself to intoxicating Liquors can neither have one or the other; her Conversation consequently becomes abrupt and inconsistent, and her Behaviour rude and disagreeable; her Appearance, instead of engaging, turns to her Disadvantage; and instead of prepossessing those

she is in Company with in her Favour, she so strongly fixes a bad Opinion of herself, that it is seldom or never worn off.

Honesty and Virtue may be said not to be forfeited by commencing this Habit of Drinking, and it may be alledg'd, that she who may love a Dram, may detest with Horror the Thought of doing an Action that is merely in the literal Sense immodest or dishonourable; but by giving Way to this Vice a Passage is open to all others; for what Crime may not a Person be drawn to commit, who has before depriv'd herself of her Reason? If then this vicious Habit is contrary to the Maxims of Decency and Morality, it is consequently to those of Religion.

But was Policy alone to determine their Actions, the Women, who should drink to the least Excess, would act contrary to it; for that would be the surest Means to lose the Affections of their Husbands, the Duty and Respect of their Children, and the Regard and Esteem of their Friends and Relations, besides exposing them to innumerable Inconveniencies, too obvious to be mention'd: I therefore hope the Ladies in general will be more cautious of preserving the natural Esteem the other Sex has for them, than to run the Risque of forfeiting their Character of being amiable, good and virtuous, only to indulge themselves in a pernicious Habit; for by the least Breach of Sobriety they become the Contempt of all Men of Sense, as they are a Scandal to all Women of Virtue and Honour.

Common Sense, Dec. 24. N^o 47.

A second Oration of Demosthenes abridg'd; occasion'd by the Insults of Philip upon the Athenians. (See p. 639.)

Athenians,

THO' in every one of your Assemblies you hear a great Deal of the Depredations and Violences which Philip has committed against you, ever since the last Peace; yet I see all Things reduced to such a Pass, that I am almost afraid to tell you a Truth, too well known to all except yourselves, which is, that if your Orators had enter'd into a Conspiracy jointly with you, they to propose, and you to follow no Advice but what you were sure must tend to ruin the Commonwealth, your Affairs could not have been in a worse Condition than they are.

If I open some Things to you, which it is of Consequence to you to know, I hope you will not conceive any Displeasure against me. — Remember, that every Man who breathes the Athenian Air, should have free Liberty of Speech. — There is but one Assembly where this Freedom has been retrenched, and from thence proceeds all your Misfortunes; you have been lull'd into a Kind of Lethargy by certain

certain false Orators, whose only Study was to disguise and conceal the State of your Affairs, while every Thing was going to Wreck.

If you had been reduced by the superior Power, or more prevailing Fortune of *Philip*, I own there could be little Hope left; but as all your Distresses have proceeded from Indolence, Pusillanimity, and a long Series of bad Measures, I do not despair but Things may mend, if better Councils should be embraced.

I know there are some Orators amongst you, so base and cowardly in their Politicks, that when any Man proposes a Method for bringing *Philip* to Reason, they think to stop his Mouth, and possess you against him, by telling you that such Men are for engaging the Commonwealth in a War. — Observe what I say to those Men, that whenever the Republick has the Alternative of Peace or War in its Choice, I shall give the Preference to Peace, provided it be an honourable Peace; — but I cannot consent to implore and sue to *Philip*, Year after Year, for Peace, while he is going on all that while committing Outrages against us.

You have suffer'd enough already by these cowardly Councils. — What is it these Declaimers mean by so much extolling the Blessings of Peace, and telling you of your Happiness in enjoying Tranquillity, while other States suffer the Miseries of War, — does it not look like mocking you? — The most they can pretend is, that we have had half a Peace; for we have been at Peace with *Philip*, all the while that *Philip* has been at War with us; but if we were never to repel the Hostilities he commits, till he shall by his Heralds have made a Declaration of War against us in Form, we must be the weakest People that ever yet had the Name of a Commonwealth.

What is the meaning that the *Athenians*, who in former Times held their Liberty so dear, should now seem to embrace Servitude? — I will tell you the Reason, because there reign'd a certain Spirit in those Days in the Minds of our People, which is found no more. This was a generous Contempt, and a virtuous Hatred against every base Man, who had so much as given Cause of Suspicion of being corrupted — In those Days, to receive Gratifications, or Presents for any Thing wherein the Publick was concern'd, was a capital Crime, and whoever was convicted of it, suffer'd the most grievous Punishments. — But now you are giving into all those Vices which are the constant Companions of Corruption and Venality.

I will not take upon me to assure you, that the reducing *Philip*, by Force of Arms, will, without any Thing else, restore all your Affairs; — no; you must pursue, with Justice,

those false Orators who act as if they receiv'd Wages from him.

As to your present Conduct with Respect to *Philip*, it has amazed all the World, to think that you should carry on a War not long since against *Sparta*, in Alliance with *Thebes* and *Corinth*, and bear almost the whole Expence, tho' you were not principally concern'd; and now, when your Rights are invaded and your Honour insulted, when the Quarrel is all your own, you will not move a Hand in your own Defence. — I wish you may recover your Senses before good Advice is too late. —

Craftsman, Dec. 24. N^o 598.

B Several Methods for restraining the Liberty of the PRESS.

THE Liberty of explaining and animadverting upon publick Measures is such a Check upon Men in Power, especially bad ones, that few of them like it in their Hearts, however they may think proper to pretend a Regard for it; and therefore have try'd several Experiments to pluck this Thorn out of their Sides.

One, and the principal of these was the Institution of the *Star-Chamber*; where all Writers against any Men in Power were arbitrarily try'd by the very Persons, who prosecuted them, and punish'd in the most rigorous Manner, under the Denomination of *Libellers*; tho' in many Cases, they deserv'd the Thanks and Blessings of their Country. These infamous Proceedings were at last carry'd to such an Height, that the Court itself was solemnly abolish'd by *Parliament*, in the Reign of *K. Charles I.* and was not a little instrumental to the Misfortunes of that misguided Prince.

Nor was it judg'd expedient to repeal this *Act* at the *Restoration*, notwithstanding the extraordinary Zeal of those Times to prevent all Faction and Sedition for the future. However they did, in some Measure, supply the Want of such a Court, as far as Writers were concern'd in it, by clapping a Padlock upon the Press, and putting it under the Jurisdiction of a *Licencer*.

This *Licensing Act* was made only for a Time, and tho' it ought to have been immediately repeal'd at the *Revolution*, it was suffer'd to continue till the Term was expired; nay, even then an Attempt was made to revive it, and would have actually succeeded, had it not been vigorously oppos'd by the true Friends of Liberty, and the disinterested Lovers of their Country, who look'd upon the Freedom of the Press as one of the main Ends of the *Revolution*.

Thus were we deliver'd from the Inquisition of the *Star-Chamber*, and the Clog of the

the *Licensing Act*; which were the only *Parliamentary Acts* I can recollect against the *Press*; for I will not insist upon the *Stamp-Duty*; tho', as it now stands, it is certainly a very great Restraint upon *political Writers*, in several Respects; and, with a little farther Power given to the *Commissioners*, might convert them into *real Licensers*, under another Name.

But there have been numberless other Tricks and Devices found out, by *Men in Power*, to undermine this *Liberty*, both in ancient and modern Times.

Sometimes they have had Recourse to gentle Means, and endeavour'd to soften the Minds of *those*, who drew their Pens against them, by advantageous Proposals of *Money*, *Pensions*, or *Places*. If the *Writers* happen'd to prove of so perverse and intractable a Spirit as to reject such generous Offers, they next apply'd to their *Booksellers* and *Printers* in the same Manner; and have sometimes laid out great Sums of *publick Money* to buy up the *Propriety of Papers*, in which these peevish *Writings* were convey'd to the World, and turn'd them into *Apologies for themselves*.

But if neither the *Authors*, nor *Proprietors of publick Papers*, would listen to such honourable Proposals, the third Step of the *Minister* us'd was to try whether he could intimidate them, not only by Menaces of *publick Prosecutions* and *Isals*, but sometimes even of *private Assassination*; as was the Case of *Andrew Marvell*.

When all these Methods have failed of their desired Success, they have had Recourse to the *secular Arm*; and, under the laudable Pretence of drawing the *Sword of Justice*, took an Opportunity of gratifying their own *personal Revenge*, by seizing and confining all Persons concern'd, or suppos'd to be concern'd, in the writing, printing, or publishing such obnoxious *Papers*, and thereby interrupting the Course of them.

When neither *Promises*, *Threats*, *Prosecutions*, nor even the severest *Punishments*, were able to extinguish this factious Ardour of *British Liberty*, their last necessary Resort was to ruin the *Man*, when they could not subdue his *Spirit*, either by laying violent Hands on his *Property*, and starving him by Degrees, or by going a shorter Way to work, and taking his *Life* away at once, by *black Forms of Law*. This was the Case of *Algernon Sidney* and others, for pretended *Libels*, some of which were never so much as published.—But a Stop is now put to these ministerial Practices, by our present happy *Establishment*; which secures every *Man's Property*, till he is convicted of some high Crime.

This, I say, is our present glorious Condition; and these the great Barriers of our *Liberty*. Every *Man* is now safe, as to *Life*,

Estates, and the Pursuit of his *lawful Business*, whilst he confines himself within the Bounds of the *Law*; and it must be left to the *regular Course of Justice*, whether he hath transgress'd them or not.—I hope this will not prove our *Case*; but as a *fresh and unusual Weight of Power* is lately fallen upon us, and the *common Scriblers* have been for a Week or two past, more than ordinarily scurrilous, if that is possible; I cannot conclude without taking a little Notice of them.

For some Time past, they have clubb'd all their little Brains against our *unfortunate Merchants*, who have been so rapaciously plunder'd by the *Spaniards*, for having only a few *Pieces of Eight* on board, (which is the common Species in most Parts of the *West-Indies*) or even bringing home a little *Logwood*, from *Places*, to which we have a Right by *Treaties*. This, I am sure, was the Sense of the *whole Board of Trade*, in the Year 1717, as appears by their Report to his late Majesty; and if we have not given them up by any subsequent Treaty, we have an undoubted Right to cut *Logwood*, or deal in it; for it is not excepted as *contraband Goods*, in the *Treaties* 1667 and 1670, which are confirm'd by the *Treaty of Utrecht*. Yet *these Prostitutes* are pleased to load them, upon this Account only, with the Appellations of *Thieves*, *Robbers* and *Pirates*, which I think more properly belong to their Friends the *Spaniards*. They are therefore really guilty of what was falsely laid to my Charge, some Years ago; for this is certainly furnishing the *Spaniards with Arguments*; at a Time too, when the *Merchants* were making their Application for Redress, and his Majesty was pleas'd to undertake their Cause.

Sir William Godolphin observes, in one of his Letters to Secretary *Cowart*, 'That it is a certain Note of the *Spanish Humour*, that they apply themselves heartily and seriously to conserve no Friendship, but of such only, whom they dread; and that the Impressions of Fear do more effectually negotiate with them, than the Offices of Kindness.'

If this continues to be still their Principle, I am at a Loss how to account for their late extraordinary Conduct, since we are so vastly superior to them at Sea, that it is impossible for them not to dread us. Let them reflect upon the *Mediterranean Affair*, or even upon *Hester's* famous Expedition, which must needs stamp the Impressions of Fear upon them, and put them in Mind how easy it is for us to teach them good Manners, at least, whenever we please to be in Earnest.

The Criticism on *Virgil* has been receiv'd, and shall be inserted the first Opportunity.

HORACE,

HORACE, BOOK I. ODE V. *Imitated.*

WHEN to that dear but inauspicious
 bower, [flow'r,
 Fann'd with the breath of ev'ry fragrant
 (Where circling boughs in verdant pomp ar-
 ray'd

Paint the still covert with a pleasing shade)
 You, love dissembling feign a kind retreat,
 Your looks all mild and languishingly sweet;
 Say, *Pyrrha*, say, what gay unpractis'd youth,
 Lur'd by that air of unaffected truth,
 What gaudy stripling eager to be blest,
 Sinks a glad victim on thy perjur'd breast?
 And while essential sweets their odours spread,
 Clasps thee with ardor on the rosy bed?
 O wondrous nymph! whose piercing charms
 confess

Thy form resistless, simple tho' in dress,
 Beauteous by nature, without art, too, fair,
 Tell me for whom thy amber-colour'd hair
 In silken wreaths its radiant lustre shews,
 Plays to each motion and in ringlets flows;
 Ill fated youth! undone whoe'er he be,
 For while you thus most amiably free,
 With specious innocence your joys dispense
 And feast with extasy the ravish'd sense;
 He, lost in transports forms an airy scene
 Of vast delight, the heavens appear serene,
 Smooth glides the surface of the chrystal
 stream

And fancy wantons in the golden dream,
 Still hopes the same, and credulously fond
 Boasts thee secure in faith's eternal bond:
 Alas! too soon he'll feel his rash mistake,
 When from the soft delusion forc'd to wake,
 Starting he views the heavens with clouds o'er
 cast,

The furrow'd ocean black'ning to the blast
 Of angry winds, and all the promis'd bliss
 Sunk in the tumult of the dread abyss.
 How he will then in wild despair lament
 The wond'rous change and curse the sad event.
 Gods! what a train of ills those wretches
 wait,

Who proudly court their yet untasted fate,
 Gaze on thy charms, yet not suspect thy wiles,
 And catch at ruin in ambiguous smiles.
 Once big with hope I spread my swelling
 sails,

Vainly secure of ever prosperous gales,
 Yet scarcely launch'd into the deep, was met
 By warring winds, and raging waves beset.
 Long on the faithless ocean rudely tost, [lost,
 The sport of storms, my barque at length was
 When some kind *Triton* rushing to my aid,
 Caught me expiring and to land convey'd;
 Now safe on shore by *Neptune's* great decree,
 With pious gratitude I'll quit the sea;
 Passion no more, with all its glittering train
 Of frantick joys, shall tempt me out again;
 But noble reason still the tide controul,
 And virtue fix her empire in my soul,

ANACREONTIC.

*In vain from fate we fly,
 For first, or last, as all must die,
 So 'tis as much decreed above,
 That first, or last, we all must love.*

LANSDOWNE.

CAN there be, ye pow'rs above,
 Perfect happiness, 'tis love;
 Can man know a greater bliss,
 Than the sweet, the balmy kiss,
 Soothing looks, each grateful smile,
 All, that can the heart beguile?
 Why so often do I sigh,
 Pine alone, yet know not why?
 Love has surely vanquish'd me,
 And thus I own his deity;
 Mild as queen of soft desires,
 Is the fair my soul inspires.
 She who ev'ry thought employs,
 Source of all sublimest joy:
 Wanton *Cupids*, search around,
 All, *Arcadia's* verdant ground,
 Tell the nymph, for her I sigh,
 Tell the fair, for her I die;
Venus, queen of fondest love,
 To my wish, propitious prove;
 God of love, and pleasing charms,
 Give the fairest, to my arms;
 You who fighting lovers aid,
 Warm with love, the lovely maid;
 You whom suppliant I implore,
 Now relieve me by thy pow'r;
 Only this I beg of thee,
 Conquer her, as well as me.

A. Z.

An Hymn compos'd for the 5th of November.

AUSPICIOUS muse descend awhile,
 And in celestial strains resound
 The pow'r that well preserv'd our isle,
 When earth and devils roar'd around.
 Legions resolv'd for mischief rose,
 Swift from the iron gates of hell,
 And saw religion's dawning rays,
 O'er blest *Britania's* coasts prevail.
 The monsters rag'd they curs'd the sight,
 And with the slaught'ring sons of *Rome*,
 Conspir'd and banded all their might,
 To bring again th' *Egyptian* gloom.
 Beneath the synod and the prince
 They laid, O terrible designs!
 Powders quick bursting into flame,
 In long, extending magazines.
 Then all with grimness laugh'd around,
 Longing to hear the thunder past,
 And see black mangled parts of flesh,
 And shiver'd bones mount with the blast.
 But this abominable deed,
 Th' all-piercing eye of heav'n survey'd,
 And to our joyful wond'ring views,
 The bold infernal plot display'd,

En-

Enrag'd, the baffled ghosts repair'd
Down to the fiery gulphs of woe,
While the dread vengeance of our God,
Punish'd the rebels here below.
Britons, with sacred transports hail
This day distinguish'd from the rest,
Nor let a single thought of grief
Mix with the pleasures of your breast.

Ad MUNDI CREATOREM. Ex
Anglico, J. HUGHES, Arm.

URANIE, descende polo! diviniore ignis!
Cui cedit lux alma: sacros O! pande furores
Mortali quæis par cæpta ad cœlestia surgat. [ni,
Jam sonet ipsa cæly! procul hinc quicunq; prosa-
Perq; nefas quicunq; ruunt, quoscunq; fessellit
Vana superstitio! partuq; exorta nefando [dum,
Numina, abeste procul! cœli, pelagusque profun-
Et tellus audite, simulque immanis abyssus!
Ipsa parens natura tremat! dum cuncta fatentur
Auctorem summum, magno & clamore salutant.

Jusserat ipse Deus; prima & pulcherrima cœli
Filia, lux, tetræ noctis per opaca coruscat;
Blanda; subridet, divini conscia partus.
Cœlitum chorus exultans lætâ undiq; magnum
Voce creatorem cecinit, quum pulcher inani
Emersit cœco mundus, naturaque vultum
Alma novum pandit; quum certas motio cepit
Leges, & circum stellas gyravit in alto:
Quum pennas tempus primum tentare novellas,
Curriculumq; suum rapidè decurrere cepit.

Spiritus omnipotens! semper supremus, & idem
Mansurus! magnum qui munine temperat orbem
Æterno, spatium omne replens, nec clauditur ulli!
Ipse polos super atq; incognita sidera nobis
Lumine circumfusus agit, sine fine beatus,
Solus & immensi vastum complectitur orbem.

Ecquæ tanta salum nisi dia potentia possit
Frænare, indomitq; maris mulcere furorẽ?
Quum Boreas immanè fremit, stumosaque torquet
Æquora, quum turget volvens cœloque minatur
Oceanus, modo vox jubeat divina, procellæ
Pacantur, venti vis concidit incita, ponti
Detumet ira, lavant tranquillæ littora fluctus,
Hic cœli vim brumalem & meteora creavit;
Ipsius est grando, nix & glacialis, & imber
Fœcundans, nubes volucris, zephyriq; tepentis
Temperies, variisque ornata coloribus Iris.
Ipsius & jussis violenti fulminis ira
Paret, & cœlis sonitu jaculata tremendo
Flamma cadit, quercusq; afflat, terrasq; paventes.

Quanta tamen bonitas! quanta est clementia!
quanta

Omnia sustentat curâ! quam, quicquid ubiq;
Pert cœlum, tellus, & pontus, alitq; fovetq;!
Quin & vermiculus, formicæq; cauta futuri,
Immanisq; elephas, & arces solatia ruris,
Alituum rex ipse aquila, & mortalia sæc'la,
Plebs pariter, princepsq; potens nutritur ab illo;
Et mitem secunda patrem natura fatetur.

Olli tota simul spatiosi machina mundi
Panditur; is menses, prolem revolvibilis ævi,
Annorumq; vices variat; labentia mutans

Tempora quæ fugiunt pariter, pariterq; novantur
Ingreditur primum ver, pars jucundior anni,
Et cœlum mulcet, blandisq; coloribus arva
Exornat: sequitur flaventi veste decora,
Et spicis redimita comas cerealibus æstas.
Dein sacer autumnus, magno frugum ubere felix;
Acris hiems, tristis tardissima more senectæ,
Ultima progreditur, canis concreta pruinis,
Et nivibus terras atq; imbris obruit atris,
Tempore dum verno redeunte, revolvitur annus.

At quis ferre tuam, rerumq; virumq; repertor!
Ultricem valeat dextram? quum fervidus irâ
Persequeris fontes furiis, & conscia fudit
Ad centrum natura, tuo quum fulmina jussu
Hinc, illinc, borrenda ruunt; vastamq; repente
Perniciem spargunt, reboant freta, sidera, tellus!
Nunc quonam ambitio, cristis elata sperbis,
Et fastus sublime caput fugere paventes?
En! ipsi, patriæ pestes, cecidere tyranni:
Quàm vellent ut terra sibi satis ima debiscat,
Et subito vivos avidum demittat in alvum,
Ne tua corripit poenis immanibus ira!
Heu! frustra — pelagus minitans conjurat, & aer
Ventosus, flagransq; ignis, quassataq; tellus,
Te, deus! ulscisci, & populum punire nocentem:
Nec finire potest diros mors ipsa dolores;
Supplicium sine fine manet, sine fine reatus.

O beres Pellæe! Cyre! & ter maxime Cæsar!
O vasti quotquot mundi tenuis habenas!
Numina telluris quondam! quos thuris honore
Vulgus adoravit! centum quæis Marte subactæ
Ferali gentes centum cessere triumphos!
Dicite, quæ tanti restent vestigia regni?
Quâq; levis vestrum servetur gloria numen?
Defendine fugax statuis ac ære perenni
Dira potest? templisne manet sublimis in altis,
Atq; theatrorum tutissima mole, ruinas
Ætatis temnit, dentesque volubilis ævi?
Ab minime! monumenta brevis pereuntia fame
Spes fallunt vestras; nec splendida nomina servant
Amplius auctorum, vestris commixta favillis.

Pergito jam, mea musa, audax! pereuntis & ævi
Sæcleris filium; nam scena novissima mundi
Imminet, & metuenda dies mortalibus ægis;
Qua gentes ac regna cadunt, naturaque magnum
Cessat opus, terræque ultra non voluit orbis.

En! solio omnipotens judex confidit in alto!
En! sati tenet ipse libros! En! complet Olympum
Cœlituum glomerata cohors, pompæq; corusca
Temporis attendit finem, mundi; ruinas!
Ambitio, fastusq; tumens, & prodiga rerum
Luxuries pereunt; turpis petet antra reatus
Inferna, & fugiens, crebra formidine pressus,
Respiciet, minitante deo cum vindice flamma.
O quam, dic, lucem summam, gens impia, cernit!
O! quanto terrore animi minitantiæ verba
Judicis audieris, sceleris tibi conscia multi!
Picta voluptatis nubes, heu! vestra fugatur,
Eluditq; oculos; sedet hanc frustrata sequeris
Nec menti sperare tuæ meliora licebit:
Nec repetes quondam tibi cognita gaudia vitæ;
Æternum pœnas pati, cupidinis alto
Oceano jactata, nec unquam littora tanges.

Asspicit

*Aspice qua mundi sedet arbiter ore sereno,
Et cælum iustis æternaq; præmia donat!
O quem cerno locum! quæ me divina stupentem
Vis tulit hic! prob! quale jubar, fulgorq; coruscans
Effulgent! quantæq; tuum, deus alme, coronant
Deliciæ solium! sol, qui clarissimus alto
Æthere præluet stellis, sua lumina certè
Perderet hic, veluti cùm candida cornua lunæ
Languescunt; roseo perscripta nitore diei.
Hæc solùm fas est mirari.*

*Audaci cursu, musa, O! desiste, nec ista
Mystica scrutari vano conamine tentes.
Immensum spes fortè bonum lucrabitur olim;
Sed nos quale bonum fuerit, tempusq; locusq;
Et modus ipse latent, nec tam sublimia mentes
Complecti humane possunt, linguæve profari.*

ACROSTICK, by a foreign Minister. On the
Death of the QUEEN.

H E A V E N'S uncontrolling pleasure
O verwhelms, now, royal breasts!
P arting with so great a treasure,
P enetrates their souls, and wrests
M any groans from hearts in mourning,
A ll bemoan, with tears, the queen;
N ow she's gone, without returning;
N one more, like her! can be seen.

Verses sent by a Gentleman to his Mistress.

L O N G had I sorely felt love's painful smart,
And hopes and fears alternate rul'd my heart:

At length kind heav'n to me propitious prov'd,
And thou (the only fair I ever lov'd)
Hast deign'd at last to ease my love-sick mind,
And to thy lover promis'd to be kind.

Not Cræsus self with all his mighty store,
No potent prince whom trembling slaves adore,
In wealth or pow'r cou'd e'er such sweets enjoy
As I, while you my constant thoughts employ.
In you, whatever I cou'd wish, I find;
Nor ought can want, if Molly you're but kind.
May heav'n then grant that nothing may
prevent

Our future happiness and sweet content;
But may we still a constant mutual flame,
Thro' all the various scenes of life the same,
To the last moments of our breath retain,
And only part in death to meet again.

*A Song by the same Author. Tune — The
bonny grey-ey'd Morn.*

T H I S woman only that can bless mankind,
In her alone are centred all our joys;
In her endearing charms an happiness we find,
Which ever gives delight and never cloy.

Without a fair one join'd in Hymen's band
On earth no lasting pleasure we receive:
Thus Adam, tho' he'd all at his command,
No paradise enjoy'd without his Eve.

A DIALOGUE.

PHILLIS.

A H! what can mean that eager joy
Transports my soul when you appear!
Ah! Strepson, you my thoughts employ
With all that's charming all that's dear.
When you your pleasing story tell,
A tenderness invades each part,
And I with blushes own I feel
Something too melting at my heart.

STREPHON.

Ten thousand wishes, joys, desires,
Seize on me still when I thee view;
Ah! may but thine be real fires,
As mine shall be for ever true:
My heart like thine is soft and kind,
'Twould fain but yet it cannot speak,
I sigh and leave my words behind,
For love that can be told is weak.

PHILLIS.

Each sigh my reason does surprize,
And I at once both wish and fear,
My wounded soul mounts to my eyes,
As it would prattle stories there.
Take then the heart that needs will go,
But, shepherd, see it kindly us'd;
For who such presents would bestow,
If this alas! should be abus'd?

STREPHON.

If sighs or tears thy pity move,
Or if thine eyes thy love confess,
Thy sighs do make me die for love,
And sure mine eyes betray no less.
Thy charming heart with joy I'll take,
A gift I love because 'tis thine;
I'll use it gently for thy sake,
Ah! be but thou as kind to mine.

CHORUS together.

Now all ye list'ning gods above,
Bear witness of our mutual love;
On your gay wings the joyful tidings bear,
To ev'ry bright inhabitant of th' air:
Tell 'em in all their blest cabals they see
Nothing so happy, so belov'd as we.

The Biter bit. In Imitation of Anacreon's

"Εγὼς ποτ' ἐν πόσεισι.

C U P I D, the flyest rogue alive,
One day was plund'ring of an hive;
But as with too eager haste
He strove the liquid sweets to taste,
A bee surpriz'd the heedless boy,
Stung him and dash'd th' expected joy,
The urchin when he felt the smart
Of the invenom'd angry dart,
He kick'd, he flung, he spurn'd the ground,
He blow'd and then he chaf'd the wound;
He blow'd and chaf'd the wound in vain,
The rubbing still increas'd the pain:
Strait to his mother's lap he hies
With swelling cheeks and blubber'd eyes,

Cries she, 'What does my *Cupid* ail?'
 When thus he told his mournful tale:
 'A little bird they call a bee
 'With yellow wings, see, mother, see
 'How it has got'd and wounded me.
 'And are not you,' reply'd his mother,
 'For all the world just such another,
 'Just such another peevish thing,
 'Alike in bulk, alike in sting?
 'For when you aim a poisonous dart,
 'Against some poor unwary heart,
 'How little is the archer found,
 'And yet how wide and deep the wound!'

*The London Summer. A new Ballad. To
 the Tune of, To all the Ladies now at
 Land, &c. By H. J. Esq;*

YE *British* beauties now retir'd,
 To groves and purling springs,
 Till *London* pleasures, so admir'd,
 Returning *winter* brings.
 Hark, how we *cits* our *summer* spend,
 While thus your *town-diversions* end,
With a fa, la, la, &c.

Nor think the conquests ye have made,
 Are lost by *absence* quite;
 Or all the pretty things ye said,
 Forgotten out of sight:
 Tho' distant, still we sigh, and burn,
 And all our hope is your return,
With a fa, &c.

In narrow *streets*, and *bouses* pent,
 To breathe a freer air,
 The empty *Mall* we oft frequent;
 But, oh! we miss ye there!
 In these once crowded *shades* ye walk'd,
 'Twas here our *charmers* smil'd and talk'd,
With a fa, &c.

But should the *sun's* too sultry beam
 For cooler places call,
 We spend the night on *Tbames's* stream,
 Or cross it to *Vaux-hall*;
 Where *op'ra* aires renew our pain,
 And make us think of your disdain,
With a fa, &c.

Then straight, our thinking to confound,
 The god of *wine* we court;
 And toast ye, till the room turns round,
 Our sorrows to support;
 Still raving on those happy days,
 When ye were seen at balls and plays,
With a fa, &c.

Sometimes to kill a tedious hour,
 We venture at *piquet*;
 Yet even there we feel your pow'r,
 And know not how we bet:
 While *Cupid* laughs at our mistakes,
 We lose our money for your sakes,
With a fa, &c.

Rise *Autumn* blasts to our relief,
 And strip the tufted groves!

Rude *winter*, come, to end our grief,
 And with thee bring our loves!
 'Tis to thy chilling frost and snow
 That we our gayest season owe,
With a fa, &c.

On the Friendship of two young LADIES.

HA I L, beauteous pair, whom friendship
 binds
 In softest, yet in strongest ties;
 Soft as the tempers of your minds,
 Strong as the lustre of your eyes.
 So *Venus's* doves in couples fly,
 In beauty and in love the same;
 Whose feathers *Cupid's* shafts supply,
 All pointed with resistless flame.
 Thus as you move, love's tender flame,
 By friendship's cruel pow'r doth end;
 Each our divided hearts doth claim,
 Each proves a rival, each a friend.
 Then free yourselves, and bless mankind,
 Mere friendship thus no more pursue;
 In wedlock's rosy bow'r you'll find
 The joys of love, and friendship too.

*The SHINING TOAST: Or the Glory
 of SUFFOLK.*

WHEN in drinking, the bumpers pass
 round,
 And each man names his favourite toast,
 With rich liquor my glass is oft crown'd
 To her health, of whom *Suffolk* may boast.
 When I say that her air genteel,
 To her actions all, gives a just grace,
 By description then try to reveal
 What bright beauty adorns her fine face:
 When I say of her features most rare,
 That in each appears symmetry fit,
 And of charms as she has a large share,
 So she's blest with agreeable wit:
 When I say that her sweet sparkling eyes,
 Very few without danger can see;
 More is needless — since every one cries,
 Lady * *Caroline Fitzroy* is she.
 To the glory of *Suffolk* confess,
 Then in drinking with me let all join;
 Through the nation, when brought to the test,
 No belle with more lustre can shine.
 Since this truth can by none be deny'd,
 Her health nam'd, let soft musick resound;
 That whole County has reason for pride,
 In which dwells such a charmer renown'd.
 W. B.

On three young LADIES, at Bury-Fair, 1737.

WHILST an estate, not real love's the
 cause,
 Which ladies often into wedlock draws,
 And

* *The Duke of Grafton's eldest Daughter.*

And thence of miseries ensues a train, [plain ;
Which they must feel, yet, feeling, not com-
Three nymphs together *Bury-Fair* adorn'd,
Who each, this view, both mean and sordid,
scorn'd ;

Who all with truly gen'rous minds endu'd,
Thus to their sex a bright example shew'd ;
Since them alluring riches fail'd to move,
To marry men, they thought they ne'er could
love.

To whom belongs this glory, might I name ;
'Tis *Bacon's*, *Dashwood's*, and 'tis *Affleck's*
fame.

A SOLUTION of M. T's *ÆNIGMA*,
in the Magazine of October, — Pages 571
and 572. By the Same.

ON sugar and spice,
From both *Indies* most nice, [wine,
Mix'd with fruit, fuet, tongue, and good
Flour made into paste,

To prevent th' oven's waste, [dine?

Who'd with pleasure not eat, when they
With pleasure most rare,
When the hands of the fair

Both within and without shall it frame :

Clearly thus to unfold

Your riddle, truth's told, [name.

And a sweet CHRISTMAS-PYE is its

The Two OPPOSITES: Or, VERSES
occasion'd by the Author's perusing Mr. B—'s
Epitaph on Ned Johnson *, and comparing
it with the following one, upon the same de-
funct Webster ; but by a more eminent Hand:
[By Rustico-Rythmicus.]

WHEN thick, dark clouds, and storms of
boisterous wind, [find
Have low'r'd awhile, and bluster'd, — still we
The glorious sun's resplendent beams, at last,
Break forth, and make amends for what is past.
Serene and calm th' unruffled welkin grows ;
Tranquillity and peace our thoughts compose.
Th' enliv'ning, kindly warmth, — and bright,
blue sky, [joy.

Chear the dejected heart, and fill the soul with
The wretch at sea, what dreadful terror
shocks ! —

Expos'd to sands, — to hurricanes, — to rocks !
With longing eyes, he views the peaceful shore ;
And greatly triumphs, when the danger's o'er.
Long, to proud waves, and wanton winds, a
sport,

How he rejoices in the wish'd for port !

When doleful dreams our sweet repose infect, —
When night seems tedious, and we cannot rest,

We tofs, and tumble, sigh, and sob, and fret :
And, with impatience, for the morning wait.
The welcome, joyous hours, at length, arrive ;
The phantom vanishes ; and we revive.

Just so, — when you've, with much ado,
read o'er

The dark, and dismal stuff, that goes before † ;
How does that splendid lustre cheer the mind ! —
The bright, and shining verse, that comes be-
hind †.

Take courage then ; — you may discover land :
The storm's blown o'er ; — see, here's relief at
hand.

Shake off, at last, the drowsy god ; and
wake :

And of the morn's refreshing joys partake.

Stay, gentle reader ; — we'll no more abuse
Thy wond'rous patience : — see, what here en-
sues.

'Tis a reward for all thy mighty toil ;
A picture in *contraste*, — but needs no foil.
Yet *opposites* still set each other off ;
And make us more admire, — and more to laugh.
You'll find as great and wide a diff'rence here,
As is between a *peasant*, and a *peer*,
A mitred *priest*, and slovenly *non-cony*,
A *star*, and *squib*, — a *monkey*, and a *man*.

'Tis true, he's *short* ; — but exquisitely *sweet* :
In ev'ry word, judicious, and discreet.

Who cannot taste his worth, in this small
crumb ? —

And guess at *Polyphemus*, by a thumb ?
Who can the tribute of just praise refuse
To this pure sound, true *Church-of-England-*
muse ?

As for the hobbling, grov'ling, grave-stone
bard,

That you've already, either read, or heard ;
Of this poor wretch, it surely will be said : —
Him, (*wanting work, and destitute of bread,*
Saunt'ring about, with heavy scone bung down,
Without employ in country, or in town,)
Some P——n beldame did inspire,
To cant in boly strain, — but with unballow'd fire.

EDWARD JOHNSON, died Sept. 6,
1729.

Favour'd with bounteous providence, I got
What justly paid, and over-paid, the shot
Of craving life: relations had a share
In the acquirements of my lonely care.
Nor *Talk* can silent be ; but own that I
Thro' dark time, saw, to bright eternity.

Blessed are the Dead, which die in the Lord
Rev. xiv. 13.

4 Y 2

The

* See Magazine for last August, pag. 450. † i. e. The above-cited Epitaph: To which, you may add (if you please) Mrs. *Billinggate's* Raillery thereupon ; and 'Squire *Jingle's* Rebuke. But, — if it be possible, — O courteous Reader ! candidly exempt 'em ; (I mean, the two last-mention'd Writers :) because they're both, my good and faithful Friends. ‡ The Epitaph, that immediately follows.

The SINCERE ADMIRER; an Epistle: To the justly esteem'd Author of the foregoing Epitaph. [By Philomusus.]

O Ev'ns! — chief of all the tuneful throng,
That, to old England's royal vale *, belong,—
How all admire thee! — all, that can dispense,
In this fantastic age, with nervous sense,
And sweet, melodious verse: — what beauties shine,

Thro' all thy works, in every charming line!
Might I — (but O! 'twou'd argue too much pride)

At awful distance, follow such a guide!
Might I attempt — but every pencil fails,
That copies out such bright originals.

Who then dares trifle at so large a rate,
And, what's inimitable, imitate?
An unfledg'd wing shou'd not presume to fly;
Much less, to mount, and soar above the sky.
Yet, on thy flights, we may with pleasure gaze: [praise.

Thy thoughts sublime demand our utmost
But, where shall we begin? — what, first commend? [friend?

The priest, or poet? — scholar? — wit? — or
For poet, friend, wit, scholar, and divine; —
All these, (bright bard!) in thee compleatly shine.

If thou the cushion thump, — or strike the strings,
Great Paul then speaks; and witty Horace sings.
If thou th' enliven'd conversation grace,
A sparkling joy appears in every face.
If thou the merry letter dost indite,
What pleasure 'tis to read! — what vast delight!
If thou instruct the forward, hopeful boys,
Prelates and senators, at once, arise.

Long may'st thou live, thy cry'd up school to teach,

To versify, — epistolize, — and preach; —
T' improve, and to delight too: — O! that I,
With thee, my charming friend, might live and die.

To be with thee, who wou'd not ever strive?
Thou wisest, best, and merry'st man alive!

Long may'st thou merry be, as thou art wise;

Till what alone, in thee, is mortal, dies:
Then, from superior orb, may'st thou inspire
Our ravish'd hearts to join the heav'nly choir.

Writ after the Rehearsal (in the Banqueting-House, Whitehall) of the Anthem compos'd by Mr. HANDEL, for her late Majesty's Funeral.

STRUCK with the beauties form'd by magic
gick † dyes,
From groop to groop, the eye in transport flies;
Till seraph-accents, solemn, deep and slow,
Melt on the ear, in soft, melodious woe.

* Cheshire, so call'd by Camden.

Such charms the two contending arts dispense;
So sweetly captivate each ravish'd sense,
We ne'er can fix; but must by turns admire,
The mimic pencil, and the speaking lyre.

J. Lockman.

Trinity College, Dublin.

A Melancholy extempore Ejaculation, on a Friday Night, when my Chum and I had neither Supper nor Credit.

Yours, A. B.

N. B. I wrote the Latin, and the Translation is my Chum's.

*Quid doleam! pungit cœnæ fugitiva voluptas;
Stomachus imbecilis nunc alimenta spuit.
Hoc verum est, altas urvas vulpecula quondam
Contempsit, spectat, prendere non valuit.*

Who, I pine for a supper! O my conscience not I;

I hate mutton most of all meat.
Very true, so the fox when the grapes hung too high,
Cry'd out, Rot 'em they're not fit to eat.

By a GENTLEMAN, who was thought not to like MUSICK, to a pretty LADY who sung very well.

SAYS Phyllis to Timon, you're silent, I find.
Yes madam, says he; but I'm not deaf or blind:

And to see such a face, or to hear such a voice,
Believe me, if e're it be left to my choice;
Altho' you perhaps never thought so before,
Ten tongues I'd give up for one ear or eye more.

The Seat of DEATH.

THE sun, intolerable source of day,
Had roll'd the glories of his throne away,

And drove impetuous from the azure plain,
Down to the ample caverns of the main:
The moon reviv'd in all her beauties rode,
And o'er the skies diffus'd a silver flood:
The night, in all her solemn pomp of state,
Had now ascended from her dark retreat,
And in her sway uncircumscrib'd, had hurl'd
Her sable horrors round the nodding world;
When, crowded in her melancholy shade,
I snor'd supinely on my downy bed,
And these illusions, a disorder'd train, [brain:
Broke from her womb, and revell'd in my
Methought I mounted on the wings of light,
And sprung exulting to ethereal height,
There unmolested roam'd from pole to pole,
Saw blazing worlds in stedd order roll,
Unnumber'd, vast, and such as plainly bore
Th' amazing signals of creating pow'r.

When

† The Paintings on the Ceilings by Rubens.

When I with rapture, and with sweet-surprize,
Had gaz'd at all these wonders of the skies,
Swiftly descending, like an ev'ning ray,
Down to my native earth I wing'd my way,
And tost by fortune, lighted on the shore,
Where light'nings flash, and awful thunders
 roar,

Where clouds in complicated squadrons band,
To disembody a deluge on the land,
Where no delightful scenes confus'dly rise,
To waft their pleasures to the sorrowing eyes,
But sullen gloom, and lamentable air,
Brood on each part to propagate despair:
At first, through disappointment and amaze,
Trembling I stood, nor wander'd from my place,
Till glancing round I saw a rev'rend hall,
Deep in the gloomy hollow of a vale,
Whose stately pile majestically shrouds
Her lessning height, in circumambient clouds,
On brazen pillars was the structure rais'd,
And with such strong o'erwhelming flashes
 blaz'd,

That the unrival'd monarch of the day
Blasted, has rush'd precipitant away,
And the fair shining honours of the night,
Have veil'd their blaze, and sick'ned all the
 fight.

Tow'rd this tremendous dome without delay
I trod through all the terrors of the way,
Pass'd by the reliëfs of obstructing slain,
Tow'ring in air, and whit'ning o'er the plain,
Where monarchs, conquerors, whose imperial
 eye

Commanded rev'rence, undistinguish'd lie,
Mixt with their captives; where the meek,
 the proud,

The fond adorer of his noble blood,
The man of base dishonourable birth,
A nation's pride, the lumber of the earth;
The poor, the rich, the pious, and the bad,
Conspir'd to swell the mountains of the dead.

[To be continued.]

On MICAH vi. ver. 6, 7, 8.

HAVE I transgress'd? and has Omnipotence
Resolv'd to punish me for mine offence?
Is there no way to 'scape the dreaded rod?
No way to reconcile my angry God?
Will whole burnt-offering from his altar please?
Obtain some respite, or his wrath appease?
Will odours thence engage a gracious smile,
If yearling heifers crown the sacred pile?
Will thousand spotless rams in sacrifice
Procure me favour in *Yehovah's* eyes?
Will oyl, ten thousand rivers, vast supply!
Propitiate offended Deity?
Or would, should I devote my first-born son,
His blood atone for deeds his fire has done?
Or should I be in sacred vest array'd,
My hand obedient grasp the fatal blade,
Till one by one my tender offspring prove,
All victims pure of innocence and love?
Would God delight to view the reeking flood?
The parent crimson'd o'er with filial blood?

Will God for one, or all of these forbear
The vengeful stroke, and listen to my prayer?
If not, farewell to hope! I'm all despair.

A N S W E R.

WHEN God declar'd the whole creation
 good,
His image, man, the first in order stood.
The god-like features in the human mind,
Appear'd in being just; and wise, and kind.
Perfections these in God; and beaming thence
Give human nature all its excellence.
Alike in God and man; in some degree,
Man's truly wise, and just, and good, as he.
(But O! how vast the disproportions are!
As well a glow-worm with the sun compare:
A drop as well may with the ocean vie,
As well a moment with eternity.) [shine,
Those minds where more these excellencies
More near approach similitude divine.
To know what's good look inward, there's
 the test,

By your Creator printed on your breast.
By this each doubtful proposition try,
What that approves will please the Deity.
Your disobedient son from time to time,
Proceeds from fault to fault, from crime to
 crime;

At length returns, abhors his evil ways,
And at your feet for mercy humbly prays.
Couldst thou behold him thus, and not relent?
Or would'st thou spurn the prostrate penitent?
When causes are remov'd effects must cease;
Sure, penitence a prologue is to peace. [mild?
Think'st thou the parent of the world less
No sure: reform, and he'll be reconcil'd.
In righteousness and mercy mark your God,
And humbly walk in paths divinely trod;
Cease, cease sad thoughts, and let your joys
 abound,

For your return, the heavenly choir resound;
For this my son was lost, but now is found.

S. PARVISH.

PROLOGUE to the Miller of Mansfield, as
it was acted in the Free-School at Col-
chester.

THE comic muse, at first licentious, rude,
With laughter shook the silly multitude;
Polish'd at length, she learn'd correct to write,
And mingled profit with severe delight;
To gay assemblies civil life display'd,
In modest language moral truths convey'd;
The labours of the day ingenious eas'd,
And foe to vice, instructed, while she pleas'd.
Such was the Greek, such once the Roman
 stage:

But O! what things of plays deform our age!
To manners, genius, taste, a lewd pretence,
At odds with virtue, and at odds with sense!
For humour bawdry, ribaldry for wit,
Assront the boxes, and insult the pit.

Low

Low as the earth in sense, dull *pasquin* climbs
To heav'n's high arch in blasphemies and crimes.

Forgive the wretch this outrage on the skies,
It is the only way he has to rise;

Eternal scribler, impious and uncivil,
His brightest thought a pun, his muse a devil.

We meddle not, you'll see, with works
like these, [please.

Dull and profane, your ears may wound, not
But why not venture on old *Shakespeare's* lays,
Or speak a patriot *Cato's* lofty praise?

Too weak alas! to dare attempts so high,
We wou'd not creep, yet must not aim to fly.

Our play suits us, and can't give you offence,
Simplex Munditiis, downright common-sense!

An honest miller and his prating wife,
A simple view of high and lower life;

Wrote with an innocent, tho' boyish pen
O that, to please you, we could act like men!

* You, who at this night's favour'd scenes
preside,

Warrant ambition: 'tis a noble pride [show;
To please the virtuous: what men are, we
But what they ought to be, from you we know.

*The Epilogue, spoken by the Miller's Wife
after her Husband had been Knighted.*

WELL,—it was written in the book
of fate,

A gypsy told me once—thou shalt be great.
My lady, *Cockle*—this I'm sure will bear it

(Surveying her Person.)

And for my understanding—never fear it.
My age somewhat advanc'd—no matter for't,

Forty, *Dick* says, is all the bloom at court.
My eyes with working dim—well, let that

pass,

I'll sell my spectacles, and buy a glass.
(Looking thro' her Fingers.)

Lamish with corns—for that too I've a trick,
I'll turn my staff into a *Tanbridge* stick:

But to converse—O! there I cannot fail,
A woman easily will learn to—rail.

But e'er the mother-lady quies o'ercome,
I'll cast for once a careful eye on home.

Dick is quite happy, he can want no more,
He's got a fortune and his lordsh'p's whore.

Kate is my child too, I must think upon her,
At present she shall be—but ma'd of honour.

But she's modest—well, it may be true,
Others perhaps at first were modest too:

Example teaches better far than rule,
She'll learn the fashions—*Kitty* is no fool.

Now for dear *London*! hoops, brocade, and lace!
The *Parson's* wife at church shall give me place

A S O N G.

TO silent groves, where weeping yew,
With sadly-mournful cypress join'd,

Poor *Damon* from the plain withdrew,

To sooth with plaints his love-sick mind;
Pale willow into mystick wreathes he wove,
And thus lamented his forsaken love.

How often, *Celia*, faithful maid,
With arms entwined did we walk,

Beneath the close, unpeopled shade,
Beguiling time with amorous talk,

But that, alas! is past, and I must prove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

But think not, *Celia*, I will bear,
With dull submission, all the smart;

No, I'll at once drive out despair,
And thy lov'd image from my heart;

All arts, all charms, I'll practise to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Bacchus, with greenest ivy crown'd,
Hither repair with all thy train,

And chase the jovial goblet round;
For *Celia* triumphs in my pain;

With generous wine assist me to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Cou'd reason be so drown'd in wine,
As never to revive again;

How happy were this heart of mine,
Reliev'd at once of all its pain!

But reason still with love returns to prove
The torment lasting of forsaken love.

Bring me the girl, whose generous soul
Kindles at the circling bowl;

Whose sparkling eye with wanton fire
Shoots thro' my blood a fierce desire;

For ev'ry art I'll practise to remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

And what is all this transient flame,
'Tis but a blaze, and seen no more;

A blaze, that lights us to our shame,
And robs us of a gay score;

Reason again with love returns, to prove
The torment lasting of forsaken love.

Hark! how the jolly huntsman's cries,
In concert with the opening hounds,

Rend the wide concave of the skies,
And tire dull echo with their sounds;

Thou, *Phoebe*, goddess of the chase remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Ah me! the sprightly bounding doe,
The chase, and every thing I view,

Still to my mind recalls my woe;
So *Celia* flies, so I pursue.

So rooted here, no arts can e'er remove
The pangs attending on forsaken love.

Then back, poor *Damon*, to thy grove,
Since nought avails to ease thy pain;

Let constancy thy flame improve,
And patience answer her disdain;

So gratitude may *Celia's* passion move
To pity, and reward thy constant love.

Richmond Gardens in our next.

THE

* The four last Lines were spoken only that Night when the present worthy Mayor of Colchester was at the Performance.

THE Monthly Chronologer.

SUNDAY, Dec. 4.



HE Court at St. James's appear'd in deep Mourning, but his Majesty did not appear in Publick; only the Prime Ministers, the chief Officers of his Household, the chief Officers of her late Majesty's Household, the Ladies of her Bed chamber, the Maids of Honour, and the Women of her Bed-chamber, &c. appear'd in the Drawing-Room, when the Lords of the Bed-chamber in waiting came from the King's Apartment, and took their Names, &c. and then went to the King to carry their Condolences, &c. to his Majesty; and then came out again to carry in other Names, &c. and did so several Times, till his Majesty was made acquainted with all the Persons of Distinction who came to wait upon him.

THURSDAY, 8.

The Parliament met according to the last Prorogation, and was farther prorogued to Tuesday the 24th of January next, when it will sit for the Dispatch of Business.

MONDAY, 12.

The Sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when the following Persons receiv'd Sentence of Death, *viz.* Samuel Bugden for stealing from Francis Brooks two Gold Rings, a Silver Watch and 7*l.* in Money.—William Cudmore for robbing Gerrard Botnamly, Esq; of Clothes and Plate to the Value of 26*l.*—William Hordeley for robbing Paynter Cude on the Highway.—William Brown for robbing William Haynes on the Highway.—John Lane for robbing Ann Porter in Hornsey Wood.—Isaac Whitehead for Horse-stealing.—Gerry Gerrard and Grafton Kirke for robbing Henry Gough and Henry Adams, Esqrs. on the Highway.—Joseph Shaw for robbing Mr. South on the Highway.—Elizabeth Osborne and Ann Clarke for House breaking.—Abram Davenport for stealing a Silver Tankard out of the House of Elizabeth Uvedale.

A Scheme of the Proportions the several Counties in England paid to the Land Tax in 1693, and to the Subsidies in 1697, compared with the Number of Members they send to Parliament. By John Smart at the Town Clerk's Office, London. In this Scheme the Proportions are thus consider'd, *viz.* that as the whole Kingdom sends 513 Members to Parliament, so the Whole of each Tax is divided into 513 equal Parts. Col. 1 shews the Names of the Counties. 2. How many of the 513 Parts each County paid to the Land Tax in 1693. 3. How many of the

513 Parts each County paid to the Subsidies in 1697. 4. How many of the 513 Members each County sends to Parliament. Cities are included in their respective Counties.

COUNTIES.	Parts of the L. Tax	Parts of Sub	Par ment M.
Bedford	7	4	4
Berks	10	8	9
Bucks	12	7	14
Cambridge	9	6	6
Chester	7	5	4
Cornwall	8	5	44
Cumberland	1	1	6
Derby	6	4	4
Devon	21	19	26
Dorset	9	6	20
Durham	3	4	4
Essex	24	13	8
Glocester	12	8	8
Hereford	5	4	2
Hertford	11	8	6
Huntingdon	4	3	4
Kent	22	15	18
Lancaster	5	7	14
Leicester	9	7	4
Lincoln	19	11	12
Middlesex	80	185	8
Monmouth	3	2	3
Norfolk	22	20	12
Northampton	12	8	9
Northumberland	4	3	8
Nottingham	7	4	8
Oxon	10	7	9
Rutland	2	1	2
Salop	7	6	12
Somerset	19	15	18
Southampton	14	11	26
Stafford	7	6	10
Suffolk	20	15	16
Surrey	18	16	14
Sussex	16	10	28
Warwick	10	8	6
Westmoreland	1	1	4
Wilts	13	8	34
Worcester	9	7	9
York	24	23	30
Wales	11	12	24
All England and Wales	513	513	513

Note, that the Proportions of the 6 Northern and 5 Western Counties marked thus * are

	Land	Sub	M.
	103	88	216
Middlesex and Essex are	104	198	16

WEDNESDAY, 14.

At a Sessions of the high Court of Admiralty,

rality, held at the *Old-Bailey*, before Sir *Henry Penrice*, Judge of the said Court, and Sir *William Chapple*, the three following Prisoners were tried, viz.—*John Richardson*, Carpenter, indicted for the Murder of Capt. *Hartley*; which Fact, with most cruel aggravating Circumstances, was fully proved, and he Capitally convicted. — *Richard Eadnell*, alias *Ignel*, indicted for the Murder of *John Wood*, a Custom-House Officer, in *Tarmouth Road*, was acquitted of that Indictment; but by a special Warrant, detained to answer another Accusation alledged against him. — And, *Edward Farrel* indicted for boring a Hole in the Bottom of the Ship, called the *Charming Sally*, on the Coast of *Spain*, by which Means the said Ship sunk, and the Insects thereby were like to be defrauded of 1000*l.* was acquitted.

THURSDAY, 15.

At the said Sessions of Admiralty *Nicholas Woolf* and *John Obyan* were tried for pyratally combining, with others, to make a Revolt on board the *Dove*, Capt. *Hawes*; and *Robert White* and *John Ware*, for the Murder of *Thomas Heatb* in the *George Sloop* at *Ben-coolen*; and were all acquitted.

SATURDAY 17.

The Body of her late Majesty was interr'd in a new Vault, in King *Henry VII's* Chapel. The Procession was from the Prince's Chamber, adjoining to the House of Lords. Her Pall was supported by six Dukes, viz. the Dukes of *Richmond*, *Montagu*, *Argyll*, *Beauchleugh*, *St. Albans* and *Kent*; and her Royal Highness the Princess *Amelia* was chief Mourner, supported by 2 Dukes, and her Train born by 2 Dutcheses, assisted by the Lord *Robert Montagu* the Queen's Vice-Chamberlain, and 6 Dutcheses and 10 Countesses were Assistants to the chief Mourner. The burial Service was read by the Right Rev. Dr. *Wilcox*, Bishop of *Rockester*, and Dean of *Westminster*. After the burial Service was over, an Anthem set to Musick by Mr. *Handel*, was performed by upwards of 140 Hands, from the Choirs of *St. James's*, *Westminster*, *St. Paul's*, and *Windfor*; and then *John Anstis*, Garter King at Arms, proclaimed her late Majesty's Stile and Titles, viz.

Thus it has pleased Almighty God, to take out of this transitory Life, to his divine Mercy, the late Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Princess *Caroline*, by the Grace of God, Queen Consort of the Most High, Most Mighty, and Most Excellent Monarch *George the Second*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, *France*, and *Ireland*, Defender of the Faith; whom God bless and preserve with long Life, Health, and Honour, and all worldly Happiness.

The great Bell at *St. Paul's*, *Bow*, *St. Bride's*, and several others, tolled from six in the Evening till ten, it being during the Time of the Procession.

And the Guns at the Tower were also fired by Minutes.

The same Day the great Standard of *England* was hoisted half Way up the Staff at the Tower of *London*, on account of her Majesty's Funeral.

All the Ships in the River did the same with their Colours.

The following is the Inscription on her Majesty's Coffin.

Deposuitum

Serenissimæ Principissæ CAROLINÆ,
Dei Gratia Regina Consortis Augustiss. & Patensis.

GEORGHII Secundi, Dei Gratia
Magnæ Britannia, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regis,
Fidei Defensoris, Ducis Brunsvici & Lunbergi,
S. R. I.

Archi Thesaurarii & Principis Electoris,
Quæ vixit Annis LIV, Menses VIII, Dies
XIX, &

Diem obiit Supremum XX Novembris,
MDCCXXXVII.

The Anthem perform'd at her Majesty's Interment was as follows,

THE Ways of *Zion* do mourn, and she is in Bitterness; all her People sigh, and hang down their Heads to the Ground. *Lam. i. 4, 11, 10.*

How are the mighty fall'n! She that was great among the Nations, and Princess of the Provinces. *2 Sam. i. 19. Lam. i. 1.*

She put on Righteousness, and it clothed her; her Judgment was a Robe and a Diadem. *Job xxix. 14.*

When the Ear heard her then it blessed her, and when the Eye saw her it gave Witness to her. *Ver. 11.*

She delivered the Poor that cried, the Fatherless, and him that had none to help him. *Ver. 12.*

Kindness, Meekness, and Comfort, were on her Tongue. *Ecclef. xxxvi. 23.*

If there was any Virtue, and if there was any Praise, she thought on these Things. *Pbil. iv. 8.*

The Righteous shall be had in everlasting Remembrance; and the Wise shall shine as the Brightness of the Firmament. *Psal. cxlii. 6. Dan. xii. 3.*

Their Bodies are buried in Peace, but their Name liveth evermore. *Ecclef. xlii. 14.*

The People tell of their Wisdom, and the Congregation will shew forth their Praise. *Ver. 15.*

Their Reward also is with the Lord, and the Care of them is with the most High. *Wisd. v. 15.*

They shall receive a glorious Kingdom, and a beautiful Crown from the Lord's Hands. *Ver. 16.*

The merciful Goodness of the Lord en-
dureth for ever on them that fear him, and
his Righteousness to their Childrens Chil-
dren. *Psal. ciii. 17.*

SUNDAY, 18.

This Day, according to annual Custom,
Bread and Cheese were thrown from Pad-
dington Steeple to the Populace, agreeable to
the Will of two Women, who were relieved
there with Bread and Cheese when they were
almost starved; and Providence afterwards fa-
vouring them, they left an Estate in that
Parish to continue the Custom for ever on
that Day.

A General BILL of all the Christnings and
Burials, from the 7th of Dec. 1736, to the
13th of Dec. 1737. According to the Re-
port made to the King's Most Excellent Ma-
jesty.

Christned,	Buried,
Males — 8482	Males — 13690
Females — 8278	Females — 14133

In all 16760 In all 27823
Increased in the Burials this Year, 242.

Died	
Under 2 Years of Age	10054
Between 2 and 5	2613
5 and 10	1008
10 and 20	885
20 and 30	2241
30 and 40	2652
40 and 50	2578
50 and 60	2270
60 and 70	1650
70 and 80	1164
80 and 90	576
90 and 100	127

A Hundred and One 1. A Hundred and
Three 1. A Hundred and Five 1. A Hun-
dred and Six 1. A Hundred and Sixteen 1

MONDAY, 19.

The Bridge-Lottery ended this Morning,
when the last drawn Ticket, Numb. 6271,
entitled Mr. John Garway, a Merchant in
Worcester, to 1000*l*. He had a 1000*l*. Prize
some Weeks before; and in the last Govern-
ment-Lottery, by hiring the Chance of a
Ticket for a single Day, got 5000*l*.

About the Beginning of the Month, the
Lords of the Admiralty put the following
Ships into Commission (which are to sail, 'tis
said, for the *West-Indies*) and gave the Com-
mand of them to the following Captains,
viz. Capt. Brown, Commodore, in the
Hampton-Court, a 3d Rate of 70 Guns.—
Capt. Berkeley, in the *Windfor*, a 3d Rate of
60 Guns.—Capt. Anson, in the *Centurion*,
a 3d Rate of 60 Guns.—Capt. Douglas, in
the *Falmouth*, a 4th Rate of 50 Guns.—
Capt. Redish, in the *Anglesea*, a 4th Rate of
50 Guns.

WEDNESDAY, 21.

Came on the Election for Common-Coun-
cil-Men for the several Wards of this City.

In general the former were continued; but
in the Ward of *Farringdon Within*, Mr.
Woolaston was chosen without Opposition in
the room of Mr. *Selwin*.

THURSDAY, 22.

Was held a general Council at St. James's,
when the Earl of *Pomfret*, and the Lord
Robert Montagu, delivered their Gold Keys
to his Majesty, the former as Master of the
Horse, and the latter as Vice-Chamberlain to
her late Majesty.

MARRIAGE and BIRTHS.

WILLIAM Bridgen, Esq; an eminent
Merchant in *Mincing-Lane*, married
to the Rt. Hon. the Countess Dowager of
Bellamont.—The Lady of the Rt. Rev. the
Ld. Bishop of *Hereford*, Daughter to the Coun-
tess of *Portland*, and Sister to the Dutches-
s of *Kent*, safely deliver'd of a Son.—The Lady
of *Herbert Windsor*, Esq; Memb. of Parl. for
Cardiff, and eldest Son to the Lord *Windsor*,
safely deliver'd of a Son and Heir.

DEATHS.

IN last Month, at his Seat in Scotland, Sir
James Dunbar, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Soley*,
Prebendary of *Wincchester*, and Rector of *Al-
resford*, Hants.—Dr. *Nelson*, a Physician at *Rich-
mond*, Surrey.—At *Acton*, Thomas Booth Esq;
—At his Seat near *Chichester*, William Hay-
wood Esq;—Col. *Winderham*, formerly Col. of
a Reg. of Foot.—Col. *Peters*, Lieut. Col. of
Brig. Gen. *Philips's* Reg.—In this Month,
Capt. *Annesly*, of the first Reg. of Foot-
guards.—Cap. *Samuel Menley*, formerly Com-
mander of his Majesty's Ship the *Weymouth*.
—Wm. Kien, Esq; one of the three Pages of
the Removing Wardrobe to his Majesty.—Rev.
Mr. *Samuel Bruce*, Minister of a dissenting
Congregation in *Aldersgate-street*.—Rich. *Har-
vey*, Esq; formerly Governor of *Cardiff Castle*.
—John Pugh, of *Markasarn*, *Montgomery-shire*,
Esq; formerly Member for *Montgomery*.—Tho.
Moore, Esq; Grandson of the Bp. of *Ely* of that
Name.—Rev. Mr. *Holmes*, Fellow of *Trinity-
College*, Cambridge, and Vicar of *Barington*.
—Rev. Dr. *Watson*, Rector of *St. Stephen*, *Wal-
brook*.—Brigad. Gen. *Waring*.—Humphry *Tbay-
er*, Esq; one of the Commissioners of Excise.
—Capt. *Henry Seaton*, of Lieut. Gen. *Wade's*
Troop of Horse.—Thomas *Foley*, Esq; Memb.
of Parl. for *Stafford*.—At *Fareley* in *Berkshire*,
Sir Rich. *Moore*, Bart.—Rev. Mr. *Strype*, aged
near 100, Author of the *Annals*, &c.—Mr.
Deputy *Smith*, aged 90.—Wm. *Edwards*, Esq;
Treasurer to the *New-River Company*.—Mr.
Ayliffe, a noted Attorney.—At *Stammers* near
Lewes, in *Sussex*, Tho. *Pelham*, Esq; Memb.
of Parl. for *Lewes*.—Charles *Joye*, Esq; Treas-
urer of *St. Thomas's-Hospital*.—At her Lodg-
ings near the *Seven-Diall*, Mrs. *Mapp*, the
noted Bone-Setter, miserably poor.—Rev. Mr.
Collins, Rector of *Crayford*, Kent.—In Scotland,

Rt. Hon. Patrick Crawford, Viscount Garrock, Lord Kilberny, Kingsburn, and Drumray.—Mrs. Wyndesfell, Wife of Matthew Wyndesfell, Esq; (now High-Sheriff of the County of Bucks.—Capt. Cunningham, Aide de Camp to the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Lieut. of Ireland.—Countess of Galloway, Daughter of the late Earl of Eglinton.—Aged upwards of 80, the Lady Harrison, Relict of Sir Edmund Harrison.—At Alden, John Billingsley, Esq; in Commission of the Peace, and formerly Groom of the Closet to Q. Anne.—James Mackenzie, Esq; Major to Brigadier General Robert Murray's Reg. of Foot.—Sir Robert Kennedy, Knt.—At his House in White Friars, Mr. William Boyer, an eminent Printer, a Man of an excellent Character.

Ecclesiastical PREFERMENTS.

MR. Royner made Sub Dean of St. Paul's.—Mr. Willet presented to Rectory of Shipton-Mallet, Gloucst.—Mr. Davies, to the Rectory of Potham, Wilts.—Mr. Abbot, to the Vicarage of Mucking, Essex.—Mr. Henry Wickham, appointed Chaplain to the Prince of Wales.—Mr. Tho. Bellamy presented to the Rectory of Alton, and Sutton-Maudslowe, Wilts.—Mr. Turner of Colchester, to the Rectory of Aldham in that Neighbourhood.—Mr. James Cogbill, to the living of Clibberaw, Lancashire.—Mr. Lambert to the Rectory of Leven, Yorkshire.

PROMOTIONS Civil and Military.

EARL of Ila, appointed Lord Lieut. of West Lothian, in the room of the late Earl of Haddington.—Mat. Norris, Esq; succeeds the late Sir Nicholas Trauvian, as Commissioner at Plymouth.—Lord Delawar, made Col. of the first Troop of Life-Guards, in the room of the Duke of Montagu.—Wm. Colbey, Esq; appointed a Col. in the Earl of Pembroke's Reg. of Horse.—Capt. Medley, Capt. of an Independent Company at Jersey, in the room of Capt. Bignal, deceased.—Mr. Aylabie, succeeds Tho. Foley, Esq; as Auditor of the Imprest.

Persons declar'd BANKRUPTS.

JOHNSON, of St. Anne's, Westm. Carpenter and Builder.—Tho. Owen of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Linen-Draper.—Benj. Irving, of Bury St. Edmund's, Linen-Draper and Chapman.—John Baker, of St. Margaret's, Westm. Brewer.—John Welbank, of Caterick in Yorkshire, Grocer.—William Wicks, of Whitecross-street, Brewer.—Samuel Wilson, of Tower-street, Grocer.—John Middleton, of Thomas-street, Distiller.—Robert Highmore, of Brick-lane, White-Chapel, Pawnbroker.—William Stinson, late of Shoe-lane, Brewer.—Edmond Williams, of St. George Hanover-square, Victualler.—William Stamper, of St. Dunstan's in Fleet-street, Broker.—John Perry, of Camberwell, in Surry, Butcher, and Salesman.—John Bridge, late of Thetford, in Norfolk, Inholder.

Prices of Stocks, &c. towards the End of the Month.

STOCKS.

\$ Sea 101 $\frac{1}{2}$	Afric. 14
—Bonds 3	Royal Aff. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$
—Annu. 110 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	Lon. ditto 14 $\frac{1}{4}$
Bank 142 $\frac{1}{2}$	3 per C. An. 106 $\frac{1}{4}$
—Circ. 15	Eng. Copper 2 15
Mil. Bank 123	Salt Talties 1 14
India 177	Emp. Loan 114
—Bonds 6 18	Equiv. 112

The Course of EXCHANGE.

Amst. 35 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Bilboa 39 $\frac{1}{2}$
D. Sight 34 10	Leghorn 49 $\frac{1}{4}$
Rotter. 35 1 2 $\frac{1}{2}$	Genoa 52 $\frac{1}{2}$
Hamb. 34 2 34	Venice 50 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{4}$
P. Sight 32 $\frac{1}{16}$	Lisb. 55 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Bourdx. 31 $\frac{1}{8}$	Oport. 55 54 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$
Cadix 39 $\frac{1}{2}$	Antw. 35 5
Madrid 39 $\frac{1}{2}$ $\frac{1}{8}$	Dublin 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Prices of Goods at Bear-Key.

Wheat 24 28	Oats 19 14
Rye 13 19	Tares 22 24
Barley 16 19	Pease 30 36
H. Beans 22 28	H. Pease 16 17
P. Malt 22 26	B. Malt 16 19

Abstract of the LONDON WEEKLY BILL, from Nov. 22. to Dec. 27.

Christned	Males 739	1473
	Females 734	
Buried	Males 1328	2649
	Females 1321	
Died under 2 Years old		805
Between 2 and 5		228
5 and 10		84
10 and 20		85
20 and 30		229
30 and 40		283
40 and 50		265
50 and 60		261
60 and 70		199
70 and 80		159
80 and 90		51
90 and upwards		9

Hay 50 to 54. a Load.

ON

ON October 16 N. S. The Ottoman Army consisting of 60,000 Turks and 20,000 Tartars, commanded by the Seraskier General Ali-Basha, and the new Khan of Tartary, invested the City of Ochakow on the Land Side, and continued the Siege till November 8, during which Time they made many Assaults upon different Places, but were always repulsed by the Muscovite Garrison under the Command of Major General de Stoffin, with great Loss. On the 8th early in the Morning, the besieging Army, after having made a sham Attack upon a Redoubt, situate on a Hill towards Liman, and having sprung two Mines towards the Bastion of *Livendahl*, turned suddenly towards the Gate of *Ismailow*, and made a general Storm upon the covered Way, with all their Infantry and 5000 Horse, who were put on Shore from their Fleet for that Purpose. This Attack was made with so much Fury, that in some Places they got quite up to the Ditches of the Town, and many of the Soldiers threw themselves into the Water, in order to have got over; but in every Place they met with such a warm Reception from the Garrison, who sprung two Mines near the Caserns with great Success, that after having lost a great Number of Men, they were obliged to retire. Next Day they continued to make a great Fire from all their Batteries; but at Night they abandoned all their Works, set Fire to their Camp, and marched off with so much Precipitation, that they had got near 40 Wersts from the Place by the 10th at Night; from whence one would imagine they had got a false Alarm, that the Muscovite Army was marching up to attack them. The *Comarina* has made the Commandant a Lieutenant-General, for his good Conduct and Bravery in the Defence of this Place; and his Son, Lieutenant de Stoffin, who carried the News of the raising the Siege to *Petersburg*, has got a Company.

The Magistrates and Ecclesiasticks of the Principality of *Salzburg* have lately wrote a Letter to the Evangelick Body at *Ratisbon*, in which they represent, 'That if their Affairs are suffered to remain in the deplorable Condition they are in at present, it is to be feared the Protestant Religion will soon be entirely abolished in that Country, where no Protestant can obtain Justice either in his ecclesiastical or civil Affairs.' On this Occasion the Evangelick Body has wrote a Letter to the Emperor, praying his Imperial Majesty to vouchsafe to render them that Justice which is due to them by the Constitutions of the Empire, the Peace of *Westphalia*, and the Acts of Religion signed at *Nuremberg*; but we do not hear that any Answer has as yet been returned to this Representation. The Prince of *Salzburg* is next Successor to the present *Electoral Palatine*, and as such lays Claim to the Duchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*,

From the *Hague* we hear, that the Imperial and French Ministers at that Place having in a Memorial desired that his Britannick Majesty and their High Mightinesses would become Mediators for accommodating the Differences subsisting between the King of *Prussia* and the Family of *Salzburg*, in relation to the eventual Succession to the Duchies of *Bergue* and *Juliers*, those two Powers had agreed to offer their Mediation accordingly; an Answer, which 'tis thought neither of those Ministers expected. From this Answer it may be supposed, a Negotiation will soon commence for settling that Affair; but if the present *Electoral Palatine* should die in the mean Time, the provisional Possession is designed, it seems, by the Mediators to be given to the Prince of *Salzburg*, which is a Concession the Court of *Prussia* will not perhaps agree to; for Possession is generally as much esteemed by Princes as it is by private Men.

We are told, there is a Treaty of Marriage in Agitation, between the Infante Don Philip, second Son to the Queen of Spain, and the Princess Anne-Charlotte of *Lorain*, second Sister to the present great Duke of *Tuscany*; and that in consideration of the said Marriage, the great Duke is to renounce all his Pretensions to the allodial and moveable Effects of his Predecessor the late Duke of *Tuscany*; which will probably establish a good Harmony between the Courts of *Vienna* and *Madrid*.

On the 9th Instant, the Fleet from *Rio de Janeiro* arrived at *Lisbon*, consisting of 15 Merchant Ships, and 12 more from the new Colony of *St. Sacramento*, under the Convoy of two Men of War. The Cargo of this Fleet consists in 30 Millions of *Crusadoes*, 90,000 Carats of *Diamonds*, and great Quantities of other rich Merchandise.

The Emperor has by a Letter under his own Hand to the Count de *Konigsberg*, Viceroy Marshal of his Armies, conferred the Command of his Army in *Hungary* on that General. This is the General who surprized the French Army upon the *Sectbia*, and afterwards fought the Battle of *Gustalla* during the last War.

The French Papers are full of the Legacies left by the late Count de *Toulouse*, natural Son of *Louis 14th*. Among others are these following, viz. To his Sister the Dutchesse Dowager of *Orleans*, a Diamond worth 180,000 Livres. To each of his 25 Valets de Chambre, 500 Livres a Year, during Life. To *Madam de Grasse*, and her Son, 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To M. *Tarnant* and his Son 1500 Livres a Year each, during Life. To the Chevalier de *Crenay*, 1500 Livres a Year for Life. To each of the Comptrollers of his Household 1500 Livres a Year for Life. And to his 14 principal Footmen 400 Livres in Money each.

708 The Monthly Catalogue for December, 1737.

ARTS and GRAMMAR.

1. A New and easy Method of learning Hebrew without Points. By R. Grey. Printed for J. Stagg, price 5 s. fitch.

2. The Laboratory, or School of Arts. Illustrated with Copper-Plates. Printed for T. Cox, 8vo, price 4 s.

* 3. Pub. Virgillii Maronis Bucolica: For the Use of Schools, in a Method entirely new. The 2d Edit. By J. Stirling, M. A. Printed for T. Afley, price 1 s. Of whom may be had, publish'd by the same Author,

Ovid's Tristia	—	—	—	3	6
Phædrus	—	—	—	2	0
Corderius	—	—	—	2	0
Eutropius	—	—	—	2	6
Catechismus, &c.	—	—	—	1	0
Persius	—	—	—	1	0
Cato's Distichs	—	—	—	0	9
Rhetorick	—	—	—	0	4
Lat. Grammar	—	—	—	0	6
Engl. Grammar	—	—	—	0	6
Rudiments of Grammar on Copper	—	—	—	0	6
Plates for Copies	—	—	—	3	0

HISTORICAL.

4. Remarks on Sicily, Naples, Rome, Tuscany, Venice, Lombardy, and France, relating chiefly to their Antiquities and History. Illustrated by upwards of forty Copper-Plates, from original Drawings; among which are the Ruins of several Temples, Theatres, Amphitheatres, Triumphal Arches, and other unpublished Monuments of the Greek and Roman Times in Sicily, and the South of France. In 2 Vols. Folio. By J. Breval, Esq; Author of the former Remarks. Printed for M. Lintott, price 2 l. 10 s.

5. The History of the English Baptists. Vol. I. By T. Crosby. Sold by Mrs. A. Ward, 8vo, price 5 s.

6. A true and particular Narrative of the late strange Revolutions at Santa Cruz in South-West-Barbary; with an exact Plan of the Place, taken on the Spot. Printed for J. Wilford, price 1 s.

LAW and TRIALS.

7. The Clerk's Associate. Printed for R. Goshin and E. Littleton, price 2 s.

* 8. The Law of Inheritances in Fee. The 2d Edition. Printed for Ward and Chandler, price 3 s.

9. The Trial of J. P. Zenger, of New-York, Printer, who was lately tried, and acquitted, for printing and publishing a Libel against the Government. Printed for J. Wilford, price 1 s.

MISCELLANEOUS.

10. The Form of the ceremonial Proceeding to the Interment of her late Most Excellent Majesty Queen Caroline. Sold by J. Roberts, price 3 d.

11. The Church of England turn'd Dissenter at last. Printed for T. Cooper, price 2 s.

12. A Letter concerning the Ministers in Scotland, &c. Printed for T. Cooper, pr. 6 d.

13. An Answer to the Observations on Mr. Catcott's Sermon. Sold by Mess. Knapp-ton, price 1 s.

* 14. The complete English Tradesman. The 4th Edit. Printed for C. Rivington, pr. 6 s.

* 15. Miscellaneous Experiments on various Subjects. By B. Godfrey, M. D. The 2d Edit. Printed for J. Robinson, price 2 s.

* 16. The Oxford Methodists. The 2d Edit. Printed for J. Roberts, price 6 d.

PHYSICAL.

17. Oratio Anniversaria in Theatro Collegii Regalis Medicorum Londinensium; Oct. 18, 1737. A J. Monro, M. D. Printed for G. Strahan, price 1 s.

18. A Dissertation on the Venereal Disease. By J. Douglas, F. R. S. Part II. Sold by the Author, price 1 s. 6 d.

PLANS and POETRY.

19. The Intriguing-Milliners. Printed for W. Smith, price 1 s. 6 d.

20. The Signs of Albion. Sold by C. Jephson, price 6 d.

21. The Vision. By S. Duck. Printed for J. Roberts, price 6 d.

22. A Poem to the Memory of her late Majesty Q. Caroline. Printed for S. Birt, price 6 d.

23. Verses on the Death of Queen Caroline. Printed for A. Dodd, price 3 d.

SERMONS.

24. A Sermon preach'd at St. Andrew's Holborn. By Mr. Whitefield. Printed for J. Hutton, price 6 d.

* 25. The Nature, &c. of Society. By Mr. Whitefield. The 3d Edit. Printed for J. Hutton, price 6 d.

26. A Sermon occasion'd by the Death of the Rev. Mr. S. Bruce. By P. Goodwin, M. A. Printed for J. Oswald, price 6 d.

THEOLOGICAL.

27. Help for the Sincere, in plain Meditations. By G. Fenwick, B. D. Printed for T. Longman, price 2 s. 6 d.

28. The Christian Magazine. By J. Maulester, M. D. To be had at Erasmus's Head in the Strand, price 5 s.

29. An Answer to the Birmingham Dialogue Writer. By J. Gill. Printed for A. Ward, price 6 d.

* 30. The retired Christian exercised in divine Thoughts and heavenly Meditations for the Closet. By T. Ken, D. D. late Bishop of Bath and Wells. The 3d Edit. Printed for T. Afley, 12mo, price 1 s. or 10 s. a Dozen, to those who give them away.

* 31. An Answer to all the Excuses, which Men make for not coming to the Holy Communion. By Archbishop Synge. The 14th Edit. Printed for T. Trye, pr. 3 d.

* 32. A Collection of Forms of Prayer. The 3d Edition. Printed for J. Hutton, price 6 d.